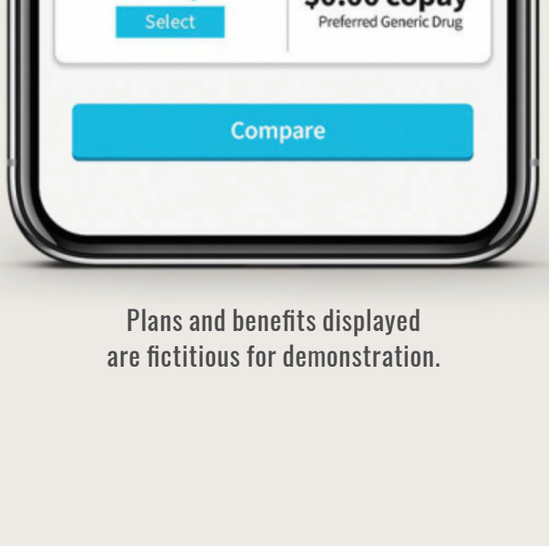
OCTOBER 19, 2020

TIME

time.com

Walgreens



Plans and benefits displayed are fictitious for demonstration.

Remember when it was easy to find the one?

Now Walgreens makes it easy to shop, compare and select a Medicare plan that's right for you—with **copays as low as $0** on select plans.*

Get started today! Call 1-844-401-7890 TTY 211†
or visit Walgreens.com/Medicare

We make Medicare easy

*$0 copay on Tier 1 generic drugs when enrolled in a plan with Walgreens as a Preferred Pharmacy.
† Speak with a licensed insurance agent at eHealth with no obligation to enroll.

TIME
VOL. 196, NO. 15 | 2020

6 | From the Editor
8 | For the Record

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

11 | An economy **bleeding jobs** and hope

16 | The national-security risk of a **President's debt**

17 | How **Amy Coney Barrett** fits on the Supreme Court

18 | **Milestones:** Eddie Van Halen, journalist Harold Evans

19 | Learning from **another pandemic**

20 | Without tourists, **game parks** struggle

22 | **Halloween** in the year of the mask

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

31 | Lynn Steger Strong on **group texts** as a lifeline

34 | Belinda Luscombe on **polarized dating**

34 | Ian Bremmer on China's **rocky year**

36 | Justin Worland on the election's **climate stakes**

38 | **Sacha Baron Cohen** on conspiracy theories

72 | 9 Questions for musician **David Byrne**

Features

A Question of Strength
Hospitalized for COVID-19 four weeks before the election, the President remained obsessed with image *By Molly Ball* **40**

Age of Unlogic
The disorientating experience of interviewing voters who can choose their own reality *By Charlotte Alter* **44**

Cutting-Edge Medicine
Will three unapproved therapies for Trump prove risky, or prescient? *By Alice Park* **49**
Plus: Nothing will bring back my mom *By Arpita Aneja* **52**

Remaking Our World
The warning embedded in pandemics, wildfires and drought *By Fareed Zakaria* **54**

Next Generation Leaders
Ten young trailblazers forging new paths to change **59**

The James S. Brady Press Briefing Room at the White House is sanitized on Oct. 5

Photograph by Anna Moneymaker—The New York Times/Redux

ON THE COVER:
TIME illustration

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly, except for one week in February, April, May and November; two weeks in January, March, June, July, August, October and December; and three weeks in September, due to combined issues by TIME USA, LLC. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 3 Bryant Park, New York, NY 10036. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** Send address corrections to Time Magazine, PO BOX 37508 Boone, IA 50037-0508. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement # 40069223. BN# 704925882RT0001.
© 2020 TIME USA, LLC. All rights reserved. Printed in the U.S.A. **CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS:** For 24/7 service, please use our website: ***www.time.com/myaccount.*** You can also call 1-800-843-8463 or write Time Magazine PO Box 37508 Boone, IA 50037-0508. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is strictly prohibited. Your bank may provide updates to the card information we have on file. You may opt out of this service at any time. ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

COVER: VIRAL CELL ICON BY BGBLUE—GETTY IMAGES

For certain adults with **newly diagnosed metastatic non-small cell lung cancer (NSCLC)** that **tests positive for PD-L1**

OPDIVO® (nivolumab) + YERVOY® (ipilimumab) = **A CHANCE FOR MORE SNUGGLY SUNDAYS**

A Chance to Live Longer™

THE 1ST AND ONLY FDA-APPROVED **CHEMO-FREE COMBINATION** OF 2 IMMUNOTHERAPIES THAT WORKS DIFFERENTLY

In a study of newly diagnosed advanced NSCLC patients, half of those on OPDIVO + YERVOY were alive at 17.1 months versus 14.9 months on platinum-based chemotherapy.

Results may vary. OPDIVO® + YERVOY® is not approved for patients younger than 18 years of age.

Indication & Important Safety Information for OPDIVO (nivolumab) + YERVOY (ipilimumab)

Only your healthcare professional knows the specifics of your condition and how OPDIVO in combination with YERVOY may fit into your overall therapy. The information below does not take the place of talking with your healthcare professional, so talk to them if you have any questions.

What are OPDIVO and YERVOY?

OPDIVO and YERVOY are prescription medicines used to treat people with a type of advanced stage lung cancer called non-small cell lung cancer (NSCLC). OPDIVO may be used in combination with YERVOY as your first treatment for NSCLC when your lung cancer has spread to other parts of your body (metastatic), **and** your tumors are positive for PD-L1, but do not have an abnormal EGFR or ALK gene.

It is not known if OPDIVO and YERVOY are safe and effective when used in children younger than 18 years of age.

What is the most important information I should know about OPDIVO and YERVOY?

OPDIVO and YERVOY are medicines that may treat certain cancers by working with your immune system. OPDIVO and YERVOY can cause your immune system to attack normal organs and tissues in any area of your body and can affect the way they work. These problems can sometimes become serious or life-threatening and can lead to death and may happen anytime during treatment or even after your treatment has ended. Some of these problems may happen more often when OPDIVO is used in combination with YERVOY.

YERVOY can cause serious side effects in many parts of your body which can lead to death. These problems may happen anytime during treatment with YERVOY or after you have completed treatment.

Call or see your healthcare provider right away if you develop any symptoms of the following problems or these symptoms get worse. Do not try to treat symptoms yourself.

- **Lung problems (pneumonitis).** Symptoms of pneumonitis may include: new or worsening cough; chest pain; shortness of breath
- **Intestinal problems (colitis) that can lead to tears or holes in your intestine.** Signs and symptoms of colitis may include: diarrhea (loose stools) or more bowel movements than usual; mucus or blood in your stools or dark, tarry, sticky stools; stomach-area (abdomen) pain or tenderness; you may or may not have fever
- **Liver problems (hepatitis) that can lead to liver failure.** Signs and symptoms of hepatitis may include: yellowing of your skin or the whites of your eyes; nausea or vomiting; pain on the right side of your stomach area (abdomen); drowsiness; dark urine (tea colored); bleeding or bruising more easily than normal; feeling less hungry than usual; decreased energy
- **Hormone gland problems (especially the thyroid, pituitary, and adrenal glands; and pancreas)**. Signs and symptoms that your hormone glands are not working properly may include: headaches that will not go away or unusual headaches; extreme tiredness or unusual sluggishness; weight gain or weight loss; dizziness or fainting; changes in mood or behavior, such as decreased sex drive, irritability, or forgetfulness; hair loss; feeling cold; constipation; voice gets deeper; excessive thirst or lots of urine
- **Kidney problems, including nephritis and kidney failure.** Signs of kidney problems may include: decrease in the amount of urine; blood in your urine; swelling in your ankles; loss of appetite
- **Skin problems.** Signs of these problems may include: skin rash with or without itching; itching; skin blistering or peeling; sores or ulcers in mouth or other mucous membranes
- **Inflammation of the brain (encephalitis)**. Signs and symptoms of encephalitis may include: headache; fever; tiredness or weakness; confusion; memory problems; sleepiness; seeing or hearing things that are not really there (hallucinations); seizures; stiff neck
- **Problems in other organs.** Signs of these problems may include: changes in eyesight; severe or persistent muscle or joint pains; severe muscle weakness; chest pain

Additional serious side effects observed during a separate study of YERVOY alone include:

- **Nerve problems that can lead to paralysis.** Symptoms of nerve problems may include: unusual weakness of legs, arms, or face; numbness or tingling in hands or feet

- **Eye problems.** Symptoms may include: blurry vision, double vision, or other vision problems; eye pain or redness

Get medical help immediately if you develop any of these symptoms or they get worse. It may keep these problems from becoming more serious. Your healthcare team will check you for side effects during treatment and may treat you with corticosteroid or hormone replacement medicines. If you have a serious side effect, your healthcare team may also need to delay or completely stop your treatment with OPDIVO and YERVOY.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before receiving OPDIVO and YERVOY? Before you receive OPDIVO and YERVOY, tell your healthcare provider if you: have immune system problems (autoimmune disease) such as Crohn's disease, ulcerative colitis, lupus, or sarcoidosis; have had an organ transplant; have lung or breathing problems; have liver problems; have any other medical conditions; are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. OPDIVO and YERVOY can harm your unborn baby. **Females who are able to become pregnant:** Your healthcare provider should do a pregnancy test before you start receiving OPDIVO and YERVOY.

- You should use an effective method of birth control during and for at least 5 months after the last dose. Talk to your healthcare provider about birth control methods that you can use during this time.
- Tell your healthcare provider right away if you become pregnant or think you are pregnant during treatment. You or your healthcare provider should contact Bristol Myers Squibb at 1-800-721-5072 as soon as you become aware of the pregnancy.
- **Pregnancy Safety Surveillance Study:** Females who become pregnant during treatment with YERVOY are encouraged to enroll in a Pregnancy Safety Surveillance Study. The purpose of this study is to collect information about the health of you and your baby. You or your healthcare provider can enroll in the Pregnancy Safety Surveillance Study by calling 1-844-593-7869.

If you are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed: It is not known if OPDIVO or YERVOY passes into your breast milk. **Do not** breastfeed during treatment and for 5 months after the last dose.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take, including prescription and over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show your healthcare providers and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

What are the possible side effects of OPDIVO and YERVOY?

OPDIVO and YERVOY can cause serious side effects, including:

- **See "What is the most important information I should know about OPDIVO and YERVOY?"**
- **Severe infusion reactions.** Tell your doctor or nurse right away if you get these symptoms during an infusion of OPDIVO or YERVOY: chills or shaking; itching or rash; flushing; difficulty breathing; dizziness; fever; feeling like passing out

The most common side effects of OPDIVO when used in combination with YERVOY include: feeling tired; diarrhea; rash; itching; nausea; pain in muscles, bones, and joints; fever; cough; decreased appetite; vomiting; stomach-area (abdominal) pain; shortness of breath; upper respiratory tract infection; headache; low thyroid hormone levels (hypothyroidism); decreased weight; dizziness.

These are not all the possible side effects of OPDIVO and YERVOY. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

OPDIVO (10 mg/mL) and YERVOY (5 mg/mL) are injections for intravenous (IV) use.

This is a brief summary of the most important information about OPDIVO and YERVOY. For more information, talk with your healthcare provider, call 1-855-673-4861, or go to www.OPDIVO.com.

Bristol Myers Squibb™

© 2020 Bristol-Myers Squibb Company. All rights reserved. OPDIVO®, YERVOY®, and the related logos are trademarks of Bristol-Myers Squibb Company.
7356US2002303-01-01 08/20

From the Editor

The 2020 edition of Next Generation Leaders offers 'a bright window into the future.'

NAINA BAJEKAL, deputy international editor

Our future leaders

"THE STORY IS TRUMP," THE PRESIDENT REMARKED IN passing during a TIME interview with him in the Oval Office last year. And never more so than this week, when the biggest story in the world by far was the health of Donald Trump. His is the most serious health crisis a U.S. President has faced in nearly 40 years. As our senior health correspondent Alice Park wrote recently, the news was "a reminder of two stark truths that we've known since the first days that the novel coronavirus reached the United States: that the virus respects no boundaries, and that older people are at higher risk."

As the virus swept through the White House, Capitol Hill and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, it was also a reminder that the top of the U.S. government may be the oldest it has ever been. Trump, 74, is the oldest person ever elected to a first term as President. First in line of succession to him is a comparatively youthful Vice President Mike Pence at 61. Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi, second in line, is 80. Senator Chuck Grassley, president pro tempore of the Senate and third in line, is 87. Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden, if elected next month, would at 78 be eight years older upon his Inauguration than Trump was at his. The demography is striking in a world where many younger leaders already have stepped up.

IT'S BEEN SIX YEARS since TIME first partnered with Rolex to launch the Next Generation Leaders project, our ongoing selection of rising stars around the globe in politics, business, culture, science and sports. Previous honorees have gone on to lead nations, receive Oscar nominations and become Olympic stars. Among the new class of NGLs, as we call them, are Ofelia Fernández, Latin America's youngest lawmaker at only 20 years old; the pop star Halsey, 26; prosthetics entrepreneur Mohamed Dhaouafi; marine biogeochemist Emma Camp; designer turned advocate for the homeless Bas Timmer; trailblazing British model Munroe Bergdorf; and Indian athlete and disability-rights advocate Manasi Joshi.

"In a year full of crises, this group offers a bright window into the future," says deputy international editor Naina Bajekal, who guided this year's NGL project. "They are using their voices and platforms to build movements, break boundaries and push for change." You can also watch video profiles of them at **time.com/nextgenleaders**

Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF & CEO
@EFELSENTHAL

BALLOT QUESTIONS
With an unprecedented number of Americans voting by mail in the Nov. 3 presidential election, TIME has your guide to key deadlines to keep in mind while registering, applying for an absentee ballot, and mailing or dropping off your ballot. See the guide at **time.com/vote-by-mail**

bonus TIME health

Subscribe to TIME's free health newsletter and get **a daily email full of news and advice** to help keep you well. For more, visit **time.com/email**

PROGRAMMING NOTE

The next issue of TIME will be published Oct. 22 and available on newsstands Oct. 23.

TALK TO US

SEND AN EMAIL:
letters@time.com
Please do not send attachments

FOLLOW US:
facebook.com/time
@time (Twitter and Instagram)

Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone, and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

Back Issues Contact us at customerservice@time.com, or call 800-843-8463. **Reprints and Permissions** Information is available at time.com/reprints. To request custom reprints, visit timereprints.com. **Advertising** For advertising rates and our editorial calendar, visit timemediakit.com. **Syndication** For international licensing and syndication requests, contact syndication@time.com

Please recycle this magazine, and remove inserts or samples beforehand

NICHOLAS KAMM—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

You’ve worked hard to plan for today – and for the future.

We’ll help you maximize every dollar with expert guidance, timely notifications and personalized Insights in the U.S. Bank Mobile App.

Get started today at usbank.com/guidance.

EQUAL HOUSING LENDER Member FDIC. ©2020 U.S. Bank

usbank

‘I’ll go in a moon suit.’

RON JOHNSON,
Wisconsin Republican Senator, while isolating after testing positive for COVID-19, on his plans to join the Senate to confirm Judge Amy Coney Barrett to the Supreme Court, in an Oct. 5 radio interview

‘Racism, fear, division, these are powerful weapons. And they can destroy this nation if we don’t deal with them head-on.’

MICHELLE OBAMA,
former First Lady, in a video endorsement of former Vice President Joe Biden released Oct. 6

‘OUR WORST RESPONSE WOULD BE TO PLUNGE EVEN MORE DEEPLY INTO FEVERISH CONSUMERISM.’

POPE FRANCIS,
writing about a postpandemic world in his third papal encyclical, a letter addressed to Catholics, published Oct. 4

‘I laugh because they’re wasting their strength on an old person like me.’

NINA BAGINSKAYA,
73-year-old activist, on being detained during protests following disputed elections in Belarus, in an interview with TIME published Oct. 2

‘It boggles the mind, and it takes your breath away.’

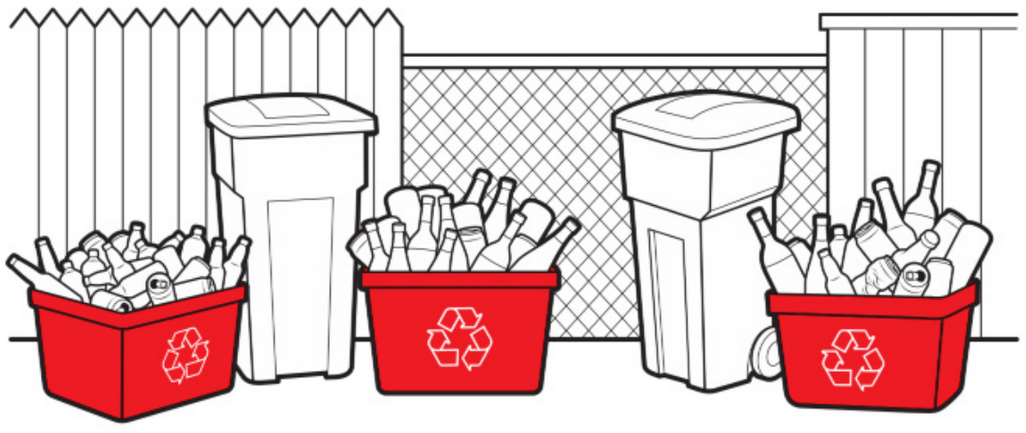
SCOTT MCLEAN,
a Cal Fire spokesman, on this year’s wildfire season, which had burned more than 4 million acres across California as of Oct. 4

$250 million

Amount pledged by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation toward efforts to rethink U.S. historical monuments and “storytelling spaces”

14%

Percentage increase in frequency of alcohol consumption by Americans over 30 during the COVID-19 pandemic, per a study from research group Rand Corp.



GOOD NEWS *of the week*

Eleftheria Tosiou, a student who has a disability, achieved a dream of reaching the top of Mount Olympus on Oct. 5, with help from athlete Marios Giannakou, who carried her with a custom-modified backpack

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: 630 KHOW, NPR, AP, THE NEW YORK TIMES, GREEK REPORTER

Travel in Comfort on the Brand New *American Constitution*

Take Time to
Explore the Islands

AMERICAN CRUISE LINES®

EXPERIENCE *Grand New England*

ABOARD THE BRAND NEW *AMERICAN CONSTITUTION*

Explore picturesque seaport towns and quaint island villages on this 11-day Boston round-trip cruise. Discover the best of New England, while visiting Newport, Provincetown, Martha's Vineyard, Bar Harbor, and more.

Small Ship Cruising Done Perfectly®

Admire the Scenic Beauty
of Portland Head Light

Experience an Authentic Lobsterbake

Call

1-800-913-2493

to request a

★ FREE ★

cruise guide

KID *of the* YEAR

TIME nickelodeon

Celebrating real kids making real change

sponsored by LEGO

© 2020 Viacom

© 2020 The LEGO Group.

The Brief

STILL WAITING People at an unemployment-claims-processing event in Tulsa, Okla., in July. Months later, the jobs outlook remains bleak

INSIDE

ARDERN'S PROSPECTS RISE IN NEW ZEALAND ELECTION

TRUMP'S TAXES WORRY U.S. NATIONAL-SECURITY EXPERTS

GENE SIMMONS REMEMBERS EDDIE VAN HALEN

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSEPH RUSHMORE

The Brief is reported by Alejandro de la Garza, Mélissa Godin, Suyin Haynes, Anna Purna Kambhampaty, Ciara Nugent, Billy Perrigo, Madeline Roache and Olivia B. Waxman

NATION

America's unequal economic recovery

By Alana Abramson and Abby Vesoulis

IT WAS THE EVE OF THEIR OCT. 2 WEDDING WHEN Brittany Riley and Peter Golembiewski read the news. The Payroll Support Program that Congress passed in March to keep airline workers like them employed during the pandemic had expired. Golembiewski was furloughed, losing his salary and health care. Riley voluntarily accepted a furlough, forgoing a paycheck to keep her health care. As they started to figure out how they could afford rent on their Denver home and food for their three kids, the couple's anxiety gave way to anger—at Congress, for failing to deliver more economic relief, and at officials like President Donald Trump, for bragging about the nation's comeback while their industry goes up in flames. "We kept everyone connected and everyone safe, and we tried to do our part as frontline employees," says Riley. "Now we're just forgotten."

The newlyweds' predicament embodies what economists have decried as a fundamental failure of Washington's economic recovery strategy: it has disproportionately helped the rich, amplifying the nation's existing wealth gap. While workers like Riley and Golembiewski have lost their jobs, the stock market continued to perform well, benefiting those who had enough assets before the pandemic to invest. While American billionaires saw their wealth skyrocket by $282 billion from mid-March to mid-April, according to the Institute for Policy Studies, a progressive think tank, more than 22 million Americans lost their jobs during the same time.

Nearly six months later, the picture remains dismal. Though the unemployment rate decreased by half a percent from August to September, there are still 11 million fewer jobs than there were in February, as of the September jobs report. That's a bigger drop than at the bottom of the Great Recession, and the losses largely fall along racial and gender lines. Whereas 7% of white Americans reported being jobless in September, 10% of Hispanic Americans and 12% of Black Americans found themselves unemployed. More than 850,000 women dropped out of the labor force in the same month, according to the National Women's Law Center, vs. just 216,000 men.

There are clear reasons for this grotesquely unequal impact. While the Federal Reserve has pumped money into the stock market, Congress and the White House have struggled to maintain emergency-support programs to help the less affluent. After passing an estimated $2 trillion economic relief package in March in a show of rare bipartisanship, the split chambers have since been unable to reach an agreement on any further funding of that scale, even as initiatives like the Payroll Support Program have expired.

IT ISN'T FOR LACK of trying. House Democrats passed a $3 trillion bill in May and a $2.2 trillion package on Oct. 1. But Senate Republicans and the White House have rejected both as too expensive. On Oct. 6, Trump ordered his deputies to pause negotiations with Democrats until after the election—only to backpedal and call for standalone stimulus checks, airline support and small-business funds in a flurry of tweets sent after the stock market plunged. The chaotic reversal, coupled with a COVID-19 outbreak at the White House and upcoming Supreme Court confirmation hearings, renders the prospect of a deal before Nov. 3 murkier than ever.

Meanwhile, industries hit by the recession are still bleeding jobs. The National Restaurant Association said in September that some 100,000 restaurants closed in the first six months of the pandemic, putting nearly 3 million people out of work. A union representing flight attendants estimates 100,000 airline workers are furloughed. Disney laid off 28,000 workers in September, weeks after the megacorporation reportedly ended pay cuts for executives.

Because negotiations in Washington have broken down, these and millions of other workers will not have access to the Federal Pandemic Unemployment Compensation, which had given laid-off Americans an additional weekly $600 but expired in July. Evictions, which have been temporarily paused for most people financially affected by the virus, will kick off again in the dead of winter. The Paycheck Protection Program, which administered millions of loans to small businesses, also stopped taking applications on Aug. 8, leaving many firms that have exhausted their savings in limbo. And it goes without saying that the $1,200 stimulus checks many Americans received in April are, for the most part, long gone.

Washington's inability to close a deal stems partly from the fact that the economic crisis has mostly spared the wealthiest Americans—including those who serve in Congress and their associates, says Michele Evermore, a senior policy analyst at the National Employment Law Project. "They actually don't know anybody who's struggling," she says. "People who serve in Congress don't tend to have a lot of broke friends."

That's the sense that Riley is getting back home in Denver too. "Our well-being is in the hands of other human beings who are wealthy," she says, "and who have these safety measures and safety nets we just don't have." ◻

'The burdens of the downturn have not been evenly shared.'

JEROME POWELL, Federal Reserve chair, urging additional stimulus measures on Oct. 6

PREVIOUS PAGE: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; POWELL: SAUL LOEB—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

NEWS TICKER

Crowds storm parliament in Bishkek

Protesters in the capital of Kyrgyzstan **seized control of the Central Asian nation's parliament building** on Oct. 6, after elections they said were rigged in favor of President Sooronbai Jeenbekov, a close ally of Russia. From hiding, Jeenbekov described the action as a coup. Officials say the vote will be rerun.

Census extension affirmed

Following Trump Administration attempts to end the 2020 Census early, a federal judge issued an order on Oct. 1 stipulating that the Census Bureau must keep counting **until the end of October.** Days before, a tweet from the bureau implied it would stop on Oct. 5, despite a previous order to keep going.

Exxon planned to increase emissions

ExxonMobil's pre-pandemic business strategy **was set to increase the oil company's annual CO_2-equivalent emissions 17% by 2025,** from 122 million tons in 2017 to 143 million, per documents seen by Bloomberg. The company said its plans have "significantly changed" since COVID-19 slashed oil demand.

NAGORNO-KARABAKH: DMITRI LOVETSKY—AP

IN THE CROSS FIRE As conflict escalates between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the contested region of Nagorno-Karabakh, people take refuge in a bomb shelter in Stepanakert, the territory's main city, on Oct. 3. Hundreds have died since fighting began in late September, with each side accusing the other of targeting civilian areas. Analysts fear the prospect of a larger international conflict after Turkey pledged on Sept. 27 to support Azerbaijan with "all its means."

THE BULLETIN

New Zealand ready to vote for a post-COVID future

SINCE BECOMING PRIME MINISTER IN 2017, Jacinda Ardern has enjoyed stardom outside of New Zealand. But her reception back home had been more ambivalent. Then COVID-19 hit, and Ardern helped lead one of the most successful pandemic responses in the world. Now she is seeking re-election on Oct. 17 in a campaign that's showing how some political normality can endure in an abnormal time.

IN AGREEMENT Ardern's opponent is Judith Collins, a veteran politician nicknamed Crusher Collins for proposing to destroy the confiscated cars of illegal street racers. Despite Collins' sharp criticism of Ardern, they largely agree on the biggest issue of the day: COVID-19. Ardern's move to "go hard, go early" against the virus means the country of 5 million has had fewer than 2,000 cases and 25 deaths. Collins has called for stricter border controls but endorses the government's strategy. And so New Zealand faces an election that may seem to have come from a different era.

CIVIL DISCOURSE Perhaps as a result, the campaign has been a model of decency in 2020. Just hours after the rancorous U.S. presidential debate on Sept. 29, Ardern and Collins also faced off. In contrast, civility reigned in New Zealand—as evidenced by the controversies that emerged from the contest: Collins, 61, called Ardern, 40, "dear," and Ardern admitted—in discussion of a referendum to legalize marijuana—that she had smoked pot "a long time ago."

JUST ENOUGH Still, COVID-19 will likely play a role in the result. Many of the major issues Ardern's Labour Party campaigned on in 2017—such as making housing more affordable and reducing child poverty—remain unfulfilled, says Oliver Hartwich of the think tank New Zealand Initiative. But polls and pundits suggest that Ardern's steady leadership during the unexpected crises she faced during her tenure—especially the coronavirus—have increased her support. That will likely be enough to win her a second term. —AMY GUNIA

ADVERTISEMENT

Am I Ready?

WHAT YOU CAN DO NOW TO PREP FOR YOUR FUTURE

HERE ARE 3 WAYS TO ENSURE YOU'LL BE BOTH PHYSICALLY AND FINANCIALLY HEALTHY AS YOU ENTER—AND ENJOY—THE NEXT CHAPTER.

As just about everyone in their 50s and 60s can attest, those two decades are marked by changes that could dramatically impact the years that follow. Some of those changes may be physical in nature, while others are financial. The good news is that there are concrete steps you can take now to set yourself up for success later in life, no matter what your future plans.

1 **Eat and move with purpose.** Your body will undergo major changes throughout your 50s and 60s, including bone and muscle loss. Fortunately, you can help counteract this process with a good diet and regular exercise. Support bone health with calcium-rich foods like yogurt and kale, and weight-bearing exercises that require you to work against gravity—think hiking, jogging or tennis. To maintain muscle, eat lean proteins (halibut, beans and chicken breast are great sources) and focus on resistance exercises like swimming and biking.

2 **Get smart about Medicare.** Medicare provides health care coverage for Americans 65 and older, among others. If you are aging into Medicare, your Initial Enrollment Period is based on the month in which you turn 65. It begins three months before your birth month and extends until three months after your birth month. Explore the different types of Medicare plans offered by Blue Cross Blue Shield Companies and find coverage that fits your healthcare needs.

3 **Supercharge your savings.** For many people, earnings peak during their 50s. If you're among them, use the opportunity to fortify your future finances and max out retirement account contributions. Once you're 50, you can stash even more in those accounts thanks to catch-up contribution rules. Also, consider downsizing early—after all, do you really still need a house after the kids have left the nest?

Scan the QR code to visit BenefitOfBlue.com and discover Medicare options for every lifestyle and budget from Blue Cross Blue Shield Companies.

BlueCross BlueShield MEDICARE

Brought to you by Blue Cross Blue Shield Companies, independent licensees of the Blue Cross Blue Shield Association (BCBSA). The TIME name is a trademark owned by TIME USA, LLC and in no way affiliated with BCBSA.

Please consult with your healthcare team before starting a new fitness or diet program.

Coverage you trust when it matters most.

That's the Benefit of Blue.[SM]

Access to over 80 years of healthcare expertise.

BenefitOfBlue.com

BlueCross BlueShield

MEDICARE

Blue Cross Blue Shield Companies are independent licensees of the Blue Cross Blue Shield Association

NEWS TICKER

Top DOJ officials drove separations

Justice Department leaders pressed ahead with the "zero tolerance" border policy despite concerns from U.S. Attorneys, the New York *Times* reported Oct. 6. An inspector general's draft report revealed that former AG Jeff Sessions, who has **claimed the DOJ never intended to separate families,** told prosecutors the rule meant doing just that.

Greek neo-Nazi party ruled criminal

After a trial of more than five years, seven leaders of Golden Dawn were **convicted on Oct. 7 of running a criminal organization.** The Greek fascist party won 18 parliamentary seats in 2012 amid an economic crisis; the criminal inquiry began the next year after the murder of an anti-fascist rapper.

Texas limits absentee drop-off locations

Citing ballot security, Texas Republican Governor Greg Abbott issued an order Oct. 1 limiting counties to just **one absentee-ballot drop-off location** for voters who wish to deliver ballots in person. Progressive groups quickly filed lawsuits in state and federal courts to challenge the new rule.

WILDLIFE

Bigmouthed birds

In late September, a British wildlife park temporarily **removed five parrots** from public display after they cursed at visitors. Here, times when chatty birds were worth celebrating. —*Mélissa Godin*

UNLIKELY WITNESS
A Michigan woman was convicted of murder in 2017 after her husband was shot five times. His words, *Don't shoot,* were reported to have been overheard—and later repeated—by Bud, his pet African gray parrot.

LOST AND FOUND
In 2008, a lost African gray parrot named Yosuke went missing from his home in the city of Nagareyama, near Tokyo. He helpfully provided veterinarians his full address and sang songs to the hospital staff who cared for him.

TO THE RESCUE
A work-therapy program begun at Serenity Park in Los Angeles in 2005 brings together U.S. veterans and abandoned parrots, and has proved to be healing for both people and pets who struggle with PTSD.

GOOD QUESTION

Are Trump's taxes a national-security risk?

ONE OF THE FASTEST WAYS TO BE DENIED A security clearance, intelligence officials will tell you, is to carry a load of debt. And then there's President Donald Trump.

A recent New York *Times* report alleges that Trump has $421 million of debt, most of it coming due over the next four years. For a sitting President, such financial exposure is more than embarrassing, former intelligence officials and ethics lawyers say.

"These are legitimate counterintelligence security concerns. I would be shocked if agencies of the United States government were not doing what they could to monitor the President's connection to foreign governments" to ensure U.S. interests aren't compromised, says Mark Zaid, a D.C. attorney specializing in national security, who represents federal whistle-blowers.

It is not clear where Trump will turn when the loans come due; American banks are reportedly unwilling to loan him money. But if the dates reported by the *Times* are accurate, "a second term for President Trump would result in increased vulnerability—and thus, potentially, risk," says Robert Cardillo, former deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency.

Such a situation could make Trump an even more attractive target for foreign actors with deep pockets—and their own U.S. policy interests—and add a new dimension to his interactions with countries where he has previously pitched business ventures. This would look less like traditional foreign influence and more like "personal financial pressure [that] could adversely affect U.S. national-security decisions," Cardillo says.

Trump, who broke a 40-year tradition among presidential candidates by refusing to release his tax returns in the 2016 election and has for years tried to block legal efforts to obtain them, has called the report "totally fake news." He has long claimed he can't release his tax information because it's under audit; the IRS has said nothing is preventing him from doing so.

'Personal financial pressure could adversely affect U.S. national-security decisions.'

ROBERT CARDILLO, former deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency

Any defensiveness only makes Trump more vulnerable, say some experts. "His continued efforts to hide his financial circumstances and lie about [them] would constitute a potential national-security threat," says John Sipher, a retired 28-year veteran of the CIA's National Clandestine Service. "The fact that criminal or foreign intelligence groups might become aware of Trump's lies would provide them unacceptable leverage."

Trump's debt raises red flags, says Richard Painter, who served as chief White House ethics lawyer in the George W. Bush Administration. "We don't know how bad it is." —VERA BERGENGRUEN *and* W.J. HENNIGAN

COURTESY LINCOLNSHIRE WILDLIFE PARK

NATION

Why Amy Coney Barrett could be a powerful heir to Antonin Scalia

By Tessa Berenson

TO HEAR U.S. SUPREME COURT NOMINEE AMY CONEY Barrett tell it, she is the late Justice Antonin Scalia's intellectual heir. "His judicial philosophy is mine too," Barrett said at her nomination ceremony at the White House on Sept. 26. In important ways, that's true. Barrett, who clerked for Scalia, practices both originalism, which interprets the Constitution according to what adherents claim was the framers' intent, and textualism, which interprets laws based on the meaning of the words rather than the aims of the legislators.

But there is a significant difference between the two: style. While Scalia could be brutal in his opinions, castigating ideological opponents, Barrett is diplomatic. Her friends, former students and colleagues describe her as confident in her legal analyses, willing to debate and unfailingly polite. Of the current Justices, "she'd be most like Scalia" philosophically, says Judge Laurence Silberman of the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals, but "her rhetoric would be much less combustible."

That, say supporters and detractors, may make Barrett a powerful advocate of Scalia's legacy. While Scalia was famously friends with Ruth Bader Ginsburg outside of court, his take-no-prisoners opinions at work sometimes alienated fellow conservatives. Barrett's collegiality, in contrast, may help her pull the court's new six-Justice conservative majority further to the right. "She might be able to work the middle, where the other conservatives are, even though her position is not necessarily of moderate conservatism," says Melissa Murray, an NYU professor of constitutional law. Julie Gunnigle, a liberal prosecutor and one of the judge's former students, says that Barrett's combination of ideology and courtesy makes her "more effective, more dangerous," positioning her to influence not just votes but also the language of opinions that become the law of the land.

BARRETT'S PATH to a Supreme Court nomination began in 2016, when President Donald Trump's White House counsel, Don McGahn, and his advisers at the Federalist Society added her to a list of possible appellate-judge nominees. As a professor at Notre Dame Law School, Barrett had developed a formidable reputation. "She's very tough," says Laura Wolk, a former student. Jeffrey Pojanowski, a former colleague, puts it more bluntly: "She doesn't like bad arguments."

In 2017, Trump nominated her to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit. Her contentious confirmation hearing captured the President's attention and landed her on his Supreme Court short list. That year, the New York *Times* reported that she and her husband are members of an ecumenical faith community, People of Praise, that teaches that women are submissive to men. "If they're part of a movement that subjugates women, they're really bad members of it," says Barrett's friend and former colleague O. Carter Snead. "If anyone's subjugated in that marriage, it's [her husband] Jesse."

CHIP SOMODEVILLA—POOL/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Barrett's confirmation would cement a 6-3 conservative majority on the Supreme Court

On the Seventh Circuit, Barrett gave conservatives much to applaud, including a narrow reading of abortion rights and a muscular view of the Second Amendment. If she is confirmed this month, she will be on the bench when the court considers a case on the constitutionality of the Affordable Care Act. (She has criticized a previous court decision to uphold the act.) She could also be called upon to adjudicate election-related cases in a year when Trump has repeatedly claimed without evidence that the election will be a "fraud" and voting cases are winding through lower courts.

Senate Republicans plan to push forward with a confirmation hearing and vote, but the path ahead isn't smooth. At least two Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Committee have tested positive for COVID-19. Democrats are furious over what they say is Republican hypocrisy in blocking Barack Obama's Supreme Court nominee Merrick Garland in 2016. Neither the pandemic nor Democratic outrage, though, seems likely to halt Barrett's rise.

Whatever her effect on other Justices, Barrett could wield influence for a generation. If the 48-year-old judge is confirmed and serves until she's Ginsburg's age, she'll be on the court until 2059. ◻

DIED

Harold Evans

Fourth-estate luminary

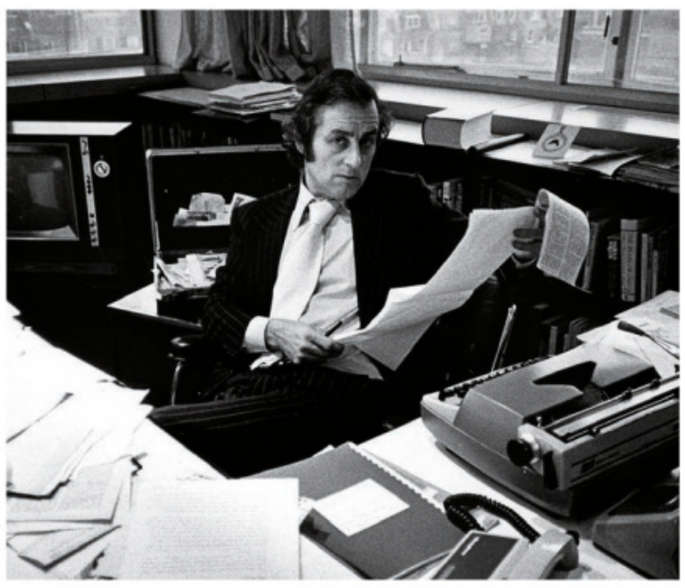
By Simon Schama

THE LONG LIFE OF SIR HAROLD Evans was an epic of moral determination. And, inexhaustible until his death on Sept. 23 at 92, he has left us one last precious gift. At a time when the press is fighting back defensively against the caricature that it is just the echo chamber of the liberal elite, his career is a supreme reminder of the indispensability of fearless journalism.

As an editor and publisher, he had the respect of those who worked for him because he came up through the ranks in what was still the hot-metal age of print. He was 16 when he began learning the trade as a pound-a-week cub reporter at the Ashton-under-Lyne *Reporter*. Later, as editor of the *Sunday Times*, his resolute leadership of a team of investigative crusaders rightly made him famous.

Much of what he saw in his last years distressed and enraged the old lion. Public cowardice in the face of the perversion of the truth, indifference to evidence, the corruption of integrity, would still draw from him moments of belligerent contempt and fury. But in the end, I think he knew, because so many of us are his grateful disciples, that none of his great battles will have been fought in vain.

***Schama** is a professor at Columbia University and the author of 19 books*



Evans was knighted in 2004 for his service to journalism

DIED

Eddie Van Halen

God of guitar

By Gene Simmons

EDDIE VAN HALEN, WHO DIED Oct. 6 at 65, wasn't just a guitar god. He was a gentle soul. The first time I saw him playing with his brother Alex at the Starwood club, in 1976, he was smiling like he had just won the lottery. The music coming out of his guitar was awe-inspiring—I was kicked in the nuts. The word *classical* describes Andrés Segovia and people like that. But what Eddie did was *classic*.

He never played the rock-star game or put down other bands. It was always just the joy. And he brought joy to millions of people.

I ran into him on Sunset Boulevard after he got cancer. He was joking, smoking a cigarette, God bless him. He opened his mouth and said, "Hey, man, check out my upper palate. It's gone." I was horrified. But he shrugged and said, "Oh well."

They say a dog is a man's best friend. For Eddie, it was his guitar. Eddie's music is going to last forever—and so are all the guitar players who worshipped the ground he walked on. There's never going to be another like him.

—As told to ANDREW R. CHOW

***Simmons** is a founding member of Kiss*

RELEASED

The Breonna Taylor grand-jury recordings

Even in an era in which social media shapes social-justice movements, in which cell-phone footage of Black Americans suffering and dying spreads like wildfire, what happens in the room before a grand jury makes its decision usually stays a secret.

But not always. On Oct. 2, per a judge's order, Kentucky attorney general Daniel Cameron released recordings of a grand jury's discussions in the case of Breonna Taylor, who was shot and killed by Louisville police officers in March. Her death prompted a global campaign urging the prosecution of the officers involved, but just one was charged, with "wanton endangerment," over shots he fired into neighboring apartments. No charges were brought directly related to Taylor's death.

The release followed a juror's allegations that Cameron, who was already facing criticism for the time it took to investigate Taylor's death, did not accurately represent the grand jury's stance when making their decision public. Cameron has since confirmed that the wanton-endangerment charge was the only count he asked the jury to consider, but the recordings turned out not to include those recommendations.

Those who sought indictments in Taylor's case have thus found new cause for outrage—but also, perhaps, in an act of rare transparency, some hope that this step could be a catalyst for change in future prosecutions.

—Josiah Bates

EVANS: ALAMY; VAN HALEN: KOH HASEBE—SHINKO MUSIC/GETTY IMAGES

How does a pandemic end? The 1918 flu offers a hint

By Olivia B. Waxman

MORE THAN SIX MONTHS AFTER THE World Health Organization declared COVID-19 a pandemic, one question remains decidedly unanswered: How will it come to an end?

It seems safe to say that someday, somehow, it will end. After all, other viral pandemics have. Take, for example, the flu pandemic of 1918–19. That earlier pandemic was the deadliest in the 20th century; it infected about 500 million people and killed at least 50 million, including 675,000 in the U.S. And while science has advanced significantly since then, the uncertainty felt around the world today would have been familiar a century ago. In fact, even after that virus died out, it would be years before scientists better understood what had happened, and some mystery still remains.

Here's what we do know: in order for a pandemic to end, the disease in question has to reach a point at which it is unable to successfully find enough hosts to catch it and then spread it. In the case of that pandemic, though it's famous for sweeping the world in 1918 and 1919, cases spiked again in early 1920. As with other flu strains, it may have become more active in the winter because people were spending more time indoors in closer proximity to one another and because viruses can enter cracks in skin dried out by artificial heat and fires, according to Howard Markel, physician and director of the Center for the History of Medicine at the University of Michigan.

It wasn't until the middle of 1920 that the pandemic was finally over in many places, though there was no official declaration that the coast was clear.

"The end of the pandemic occurred because the virus circulated around the globe, infecting enough people that the world population no longer had enough susceptible people in order for the strain to become a pandemic once again," says medical historian J. Alexander Navarro, Markel's colleague and assistant director of the Center for the History of Medicine.

Red Cross House in New Haven, Conn., circa 1918

AMERICAN PHOTO ARCHIVE/ALAMY

Eventually, with "fewer susceptible people out and about and mingling," Navarro says, there was nowhere for the virus to go—the "herd immunity" talked about today. All told, a whopping third of the world's population had caught the virus. Today, about half a percent of the global population is known to have been infected with the novel coronavirus.

THE END of the 1918 pandemic wasn't, however, just the result of so many people catching it. Social distancing was also key to reducing its impact. Public-health advice back then was strikingly similar to that of today—urging mask wearing, frequent handwashing, quarantining and isolating of patients, and the closure of schools and public spaces.

In fact, a study published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in 2007 found that U.S. cities that implemented more than one of these control measures earlier and kept them in place longer had better, less deadly outcomes than cities that implemented fewer later. Public-health officials took these measures despite not knowing for sure whether they were dealing with a virus or a bacterial infection; the research that proved influenza comes from a virus and not a bacterium didn't come out until the 1930s, and it wasn't until 2005 that articles in *Science* and *Nature* capped off the process of mapping the 1918 strain's genome.

A century ago, being proactive about public health saved lives—and it can do so again today

Today, scientists are still learning how COVID-19 behaves, but they expect the pandemic won't really end until there's both a vaccine and a certain level of exposure in the global population. "We're not certain," Markel says, "but we're pretty darn sure."

In the meantime, people can help the effort to limit the impact of the pandemic. A century ago, being proactive about public health saved lives—and it can do so again today. ◻

1

2

WORLD

South Africa's game parks risk going under. So do their animals

By Aryn Baker/Worcester, South Africa

ON MARCH 26, THE DAY SOUTH AFRICA CLOSED ITS borders to help curb the spread of COVID-19, Kayla Wilkens thought of only one thing: How was she going to feed the elephants?

Wilkens, the general manager of the privately owned Fairy Glen safari resort, about 71 miles outside of Cape Town, knew that the park's budget depended on tourism. Without that income, taking care of the lions, rhinos, zebras and antelope that populate the 1,235-acre reserve would be difficult. That night, Wilkens sat down with her partner and Fairy Glen owner, Pieter De Jager, to map out the future. If they gave up their own salaries, laid off all but two of their 30 staff, stopped security patrols and put off repairs, they figured they just might make it for a couple of months. After that, though, they would have to prepare for the worst.

"We had to force ourselves to think about maybe having to put down our animals rather than let them starve to death," she says, her voice cracking at the thought. "We can't just put them outside and expect them to look after themselves."

The elephants, rhinos, buffalo, lions and leopards that make up the classic safari "Big Five" checklist may be wild animals, but in South Africa's private game reserves, at least, the illusion of wilderness is built upon a scaffold of costly maintenance. Private reserves here spend hundreds of thousands of dollars a year to buy, feed, breed, care for and protect their animals, money that is recouped through safari drives and luxury accommodations. It is a privatized form of conservation that not only keeps endangered species alive but also guards vast tracts of biodiverse wilderness from development. The collapse in tourism during the coronavirus pandemic has brought many of South Africa's 500 or so private game parks to their knees, according to a survey by a tourism agency in the Kruger Lowveld district.

Africa's great national parks are also at risk. Animals always live off the land in South Africa's giant Kruger park, and the even wilder Masai Mara of Kenya and Tanzania's Serengeti. African governments have long resisted pressure to otherwise exploit such areas because conservation and tourism promised to be even more long-lasting and lucrative, worth approximately $71 billion a year, according to the World Travel and Tourism Council. Now, with safaris at a standstill, funding for both private and public reserves is drying up, even as they face the ongoing expense of keeping their animals alive.

"Spending by safari tourists is the single biggest funder of conservation in Africa," says Kenya-based conservationist Max Graham, the founder of Space for Giants, an international charity that protects Africa's elephants and their landscapes. "Because of COVID, that money has disappeared." In the short term that means that veterinary care, endangered-species-rehabilitation programs and community-education efforts have been curtailed.

90%

The share of safari-related businesses in South Africa that said they would struggle to survive even if borders reopened

BUT IF TOURISM NUMBERS don't pick up quickly, the temptation will be to convert some of Africa's 8,400 protected areas into more immediately lucrative enterprises, such as oil extraction, logging or mining. The welfare of some of Africa's most threatened species will be at risk.

Nowhere is that more visible than in the small private game reserves that make up the bulk of South Africa's tourism industry, which indirectly

MICHELE SPATARI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES (3)

3

employs some 1.5 million people and contributes 7% of the country's GDP.

When De Jager decided to convert his family's dairy farm to a nature reserve 20 years ago, his idea was to reintroduce the rhinos, elephants and lions that once roamed South Africa's Western Cape. He wanted to preserve as well as educate: Fairy Glen has been a regular stop for school groups from the area. But 90% of the paying visitors come from abroad, and they cover 100% of the reserve's running costs, which amount to approximately $30,000 a month, Wilkens says.

So far, she has been able to stave off her worst-case scenario. Unusually heavy rains mean there has been enough forage to feed the browsing animals. And when a couple of the antelopes died in a bad storm, Wilkens was able to feed the carcasses to the lions. But cutting staff and security patrols has had consequences. On the night of July 27, one of the reserve's rhinos went missing. After a thorough search, she concluded it must have been stolen or poached. The experience has left her shaken: "I can't help but feel like we let our animals down because we couldn't provide the security they needed because of a loss of income."

Overall, poaching for animal parts such as rhino horn and elephant tusk has declined in African game reserves over the COVID period, as it's harder for criminals to sell the products. But conservation organizations say killing wild and endangered animals for their meat, so-called bushmeat poaching, is on the rise. That spike, says Graham of Space for Giants, is largely due to the collapse of wildlife tourism. When guides, rangers and resort employees no longer have the income to buy food, some will have no choice but to turn to hunting in the areas they once protected. Wilkens, at Fairy Glen, suspects some of her antelope may have ended up as someone's dinner. "It's devastating for us," she says, "but it is also understandable. They have children to feed. If I were in the same position, I most probably would do the same."

On Oct. 1, South Africa reopened its borders to some international tourists, but industry analysts predict that it could be a year or more before numbers rebound to prepandemic levels, leaving many reserves in the lurch.

The crisis may now be pushing wildlife managers to accelerate existing moves to diversify away from tourism and into alternatives like carbon offsets, Graham says. Large parks like Kruger and Masai Mara are carbon sinks as much as they are biodiversity reserves. Many large companies are committing to offset carbon emissions through forest protection and regeneration, and wildlife reserves could be the first to benefit.

Craig Spencer, head warden of a semiprivate reserve adjacent to Kruger National Park, is not so sure it will be enough. Setting up reserves as carbon-capture zones without a focus on animal welfare might lead to the installation of wind turbines or solar panels that would be just as destructive to wild animals, he warns. Tourism at least preserved the landscape, he says, because even as tourists expect luxury, they demand a facade of true wilderness—no matter what props it up behind the scenes.

Still, Spencer adds, the past few tourist-free months have been a blessing in disguise for wildlife. The rhinos are breeding, he says, and the hyenas too. Without the constant presence of human observers, the animals have regained a sense of freedom he hasn't seen for decades. "It's like they own the place again," he says. "If we could find a way to run these national parks without the need for this mass tourism, it would be obviously ideal, but I don't think that is doable. I think we need the tourism, whether we like it or not." —*With reporting by* MÉLISSA GODIN/LONDON

1
A lioness roams freely at the Dinokeng Game Reserve outside Pretoria

2
Ranger Stian Loubser on the lookout during a guided tour at the reserve

3
A zebra inside the wildlife sanctuary, formerly a farm

The tricky treats of pandemic Halloween

By Cady Lang

FOR JAIMIE NAKAE-GRENIER AND JAY GRENIER, Halloween is a major production. The couple's Austin home often draws crowds that line up around the block, and they have a YouTube channel, Wicked Makers, that shows how to make Halloween props. This year, however, their normally interactive decorations will be designed to be seen from afar. And kids in the neighborhood will get treats via a "candy slide," a structure that uses a 6-ft. PVC pipe to deliver candy without contact (their video explaining how to build one has netted nearly 300,000 views).

The Greniers are one of many families rethinking Halloween traditions this year. Some cities are canceling parades and events, while others are instituting health and safety regulations. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) considers door-to-door trick-or-treating and "trunk-or-treating" (where kids get candy from trunks of cars in parking lots) as "higher risk." Likewise indoor haunted houses or costume parties and hayrides with people not in your household. Make-believe frights become a little too real when, as the agency warns, screaming increases the risk of spreading the virus.

But this doesn't mean kids have to miss out on spooky celebrations (or bags full of candy). "It's definitely going to be a different Halloween, but it's been a fun challenge to look at it from that perspective," Jay Grenier says. "The creativity that you have by celebrating the season is not going anywhere."

LORI BERGAMOTTO, STYLE DIRECTOR at *Good Housekeeping* and a Halloween enthusiast, says parents should look to outdoor, lower-risk activities, especially ones recommended by the CDC, such as socially distanced outdoor movie nights, decorating pumpkins outside or virtual costume contests. "As parents, it's really important for us to remain positive," says Bergamotto, who is eight months pregnant with her third child. "It's all about reframing it in a way where it's not canceled, but instead, here's an awesome way we can celebrate." Her family will place carved pumpkins 6 ft. apart on the lawn of her Mamaroneck, N.Y., home. Each pumpkin will hold an individual treat bag full of candy, which can then be replenished. Instead of a costume party, Bergamotto is also organizing a "dress up from the neck up" Zoom call with her extended family, where they'll don fancy headwear, accessories and makeup.

Because of the pandemic, Erin Dunphy Rickel, a production coordinator in Burlington, Conn., will get to spend Halloween with her 2½-year-old nephew, who's visiting from Florida. She's put together a full agenda of safe activities, including indoor trick-or-treating, in which each adult will stand behind a door in a room or closet, giving her nephew the experience of knocking and asking for candy. They'll also paint pumpkins outside and have a family-only parade in the driveway, in place of the one he would have had at school. "While it can feel a little sad that it's not a normal Halloween, I'd rather be safe and create some special memories that are different than run the risk doing the same things," Dunphy Rickel says.

Leyla Momeny, a teacher in San Francisco, notes it's probably just one Halloween. She's planned a night hike with a scavenger hunt for her two children and another family where the kids will search for candy with flashlights. "Kids are generally pretty resilient," she says. "I'm hoping that I can be empathetic to their loss here while also modeling joy and eagerness toward a new experience. Besides, what's spookier than the woods at night?" ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY FATINHA RAMOS FOR TIME

HIGH PROTEIN.
FULL FLAVOR.
NATURAL NUTRITION
AS IT SHOULD BE.

THE CHOW® IS HOW

REAL CHICKEN #1

EARN REWARDS CATCHOW.COM

Trademarks owned by Société des Produits Nestlé S.A., Vevey, Switzerland.

PURINA® Your Pet, Our Passion.®

YOUR PURCHASE CAN HELP MANY
STAND STRONG

Trusted Protection for Maximum Confidence

Prostate Cancer Foundation
Curing Together.

Incontinence is one of the leading side effects for prostate cancer survivors. In November, we'll donate $1 to the Prostate Cancer Foundation for every purchase of Depend® Guards or Shields. Join us as we fund lifesaving medical research and stand strong for men's health.
Learn more at Depend.com

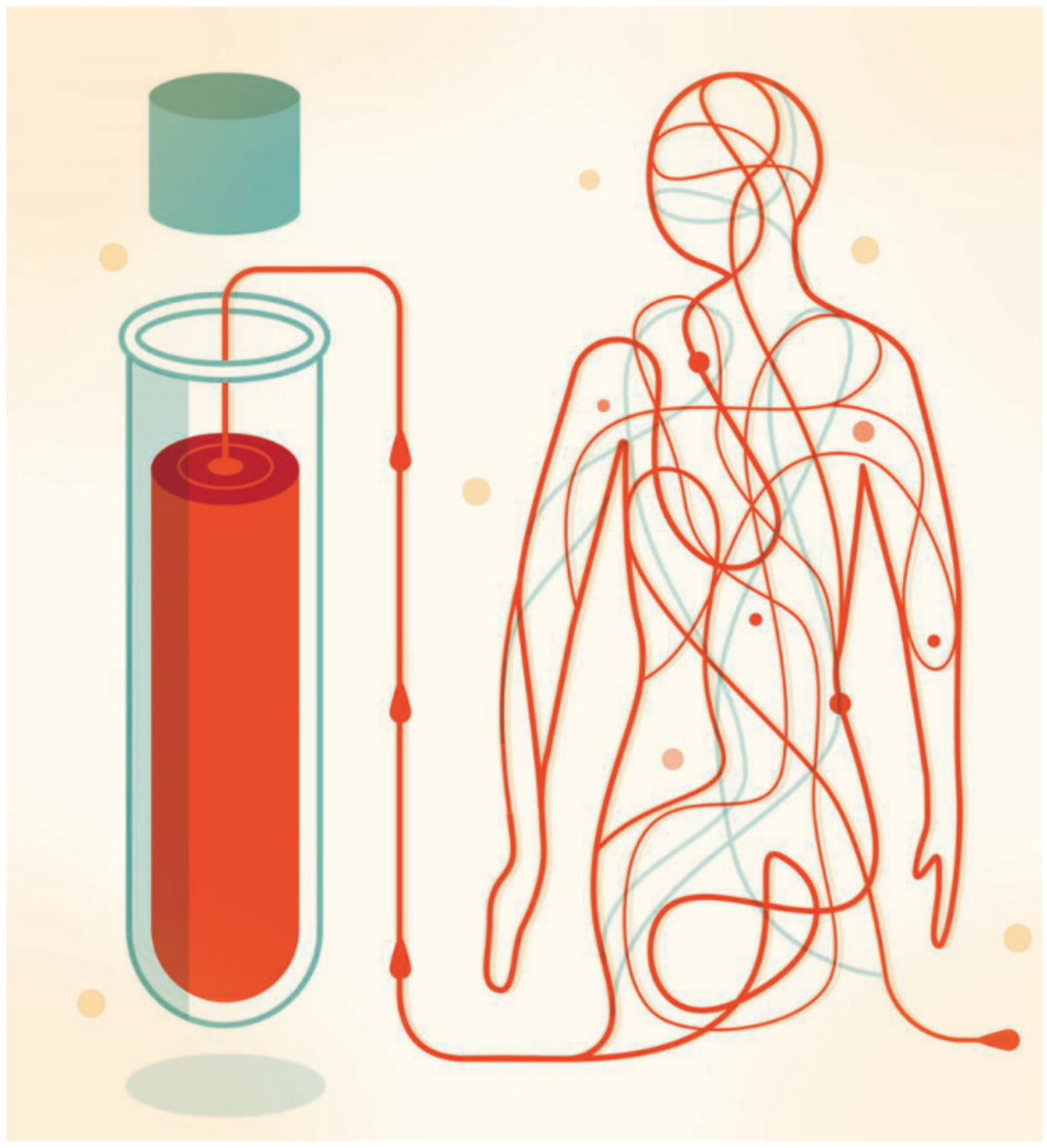
Depend®

THE ONLY THING **STRONGER** THAN US, IS **YOU.**™

†Between 11/1/20 – 11/30/20 Depend shall donate to Prostate Cancer Foundation $1.00 for each Depend Shields or Guards purchased in the United States. Minimum Donation $150,000/Maximum Donation $200,000. Void in MS. For more information, PCF.org

Why doctors are turning to the blood to learn more about tumors

By Alice Park



BLOOD TESTS CAN TELL US A LOT ABOUT WHAT'S GOING ON in our bodies—from whether we're eating too much sugar to whether we're harboring any infectious diseases. Now scientists are also combing the blood to learn more about cancer, with the hope of using that information to figure out the best treatments for their patients.

Called liquid biopsies, these tests pick up genetic material shed by cancer tumors into the blood, which lets doctors avoid the invasive procedures they traditionally use to extract samples directly from tumors. A biopsy, whether from the tissues or the blood, can provide genetic clues about the mutations that are driving the tumors and can direct doctors to the best drugs for treating them. A liquid biopsy is especially advantageous for sampling hard-to-reach tumors that are deeply embedded in internal organs. For now, the blood-based tests are used not to screen for cancers in healthy people but to guide treatments for those who have already been diagnosed.

That's why these tests have been developed in tandem with drugs designed to address specific mutations that help cancers grow. Matching these so-called targeted therapies to the right tumor mutations can improve survival rates for patients with lung and breast cancers, among others, potentially making a huge difference in the world of cancer treatment.

This summer, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration approved two blood-based tests; one, from Guardant Health, tracks 55 genetic mutations in any solid cancer. The agency also approved the use of the Guardant test as a so-called companion diagnostic, meaning its results could be used to direct doctors to a specific drug—osimertinib, made by AstraZeneca—to treat certain lung cancers. The second liquid-biopsy test the agency approved is from Foundation Medicine and analyzes more than 300 cancer-related genes.

THESE TESTS BUILD ON earlier versions that scanned blood for a limited number of—often even single—mutations (such as the BRCA 1 and 2 mutations that contribute to breast cancer). The new tests pick up fragments of DNA shed into the blood by many dying or dead solid tumors; these fragments are studied to see if they include any of a panel of common mutations known to drive tumor growth. Liquid biopsies may provide a more comprehensive picture of the different mutations behind a tumor; when doctors perform a tissue biopsy, they can generally sample only one or a limited number of sites at a time and may miss some mutations in other parts of the tumor. Because many of these genetic fragments will end up in the bloodstream, however, liquid biopsies may be able to pick up more mutations wherever they are in the tumor.

Having a more detailed dossier of a tumor's mutations can be critical for finding the right treatments. Dozens of anticancer drugs, designed to target specific mutations behind abnormal growth, are now available. However, only about a quarter of cancer patients currently get detailed genetic testing of their tumors. But more doctors are taking advantage of such testing. That's because the data on how and when liquid biopsies can be useful to guide treatment are growing, as are the number of studies exploring when liquid biopsies might be sufficient and when they need to be supplemented with tissue biopsies. "Liquid biopsies at this point have become part of our standard practice," says Dr. Edward Garon, who treats lung-cancer patients at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Liquid biopsies can now pick up hundreds of different tumor mutations in the blood

Ultimately, say officials from both Guardant Health and Foundation Medicine, the goal is to look to the blood not only as a guide for which drugs to use for which patients but also to screen for cancer at even earlier stages, before it's diagnosed. Grail, a spin-off of genetics company Illumina that Illumina is purchasing again, is focusing its efforts on exactly this; in March, it published data from thousands of patients showing that its test can pick up 50 different cancers. If it becomes as easy to detect tumors through a blood test as it is to learn your cholesterol levels, then it may be possible to get ahead of new cancer cases before they progress and become much more difficult to treat. ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY HARRY CAMPBELL FOR TIME

CHEMISTRY THAT MATTERS™

سابك
sabic

TEAMWORK. THE CLEAR SOLUTION TO CLEAN WATER FOR MEGACITIES.

As cities adapt to a new normal, we need to collaborate to safeguard their water supplies.

That's why we're working with others to supply essentials for urban living, from purification to pipes. With over half the world living in cities, supplying clean water is vital for quality of life. In collaboration with a leading filter company, SABIC materials are being used to desalinate and purify water from a diversity of sources for everyday consumption. Healthy cities of the future are built on Chemistry that Matters™.

Meet one of the world's leading chemical companies at SABIC.com

The View

SOCIETY

GROUP TEXTS ARE A LIFELINE

By Lynn Steger Strong

When S got COVID-19, letting us know on a group text we had mostly used to schedule dinners, we all texted her privately to tell her she'd be fine, to comfort her, to ask her how she was. You're young and healthy, we said. We crowdsourced breathing exercises from doctors and advice from friends of friends, and sent them to the group.

INSIDE

A CHALLENGING YEAR FOR CHINA

WHAT THE ELECTION MEANS FOR THE CLIMATE

SACHA BARON COHEN ON DISINFORMATION

The View is reported by Mariah Espada, Anna Purna Kambhampaty and Julia Zorthian

But also, it was April in New York, and there were sirens all day and night outside our windows. To one another, in a separate group, we commiserated over the fact that, really, we had no idea if she'd be fine. E got sick a few weeks later. Y drove cross-country in July. We texted pictures, updates, questions. We used to get together at least once a month. Now we interact almost wholly on these texts.

There is something particular about right now that seems primed for the group text. It's a group, first and foremost, when groups feel mostly not allowed. Also, it's low-impact: at a time when nearly every choice or utterance feels weighted, you can send a missive to the group without feeling like you're placing too much pressure on a single friend. You can put off a text that comes in that feels too heavy in that moment, because you're busy and stretched thin, because another group, another family member, needs your attention then, knowing there are others who can and will step in.

On another group, we traded access to different educational apps and programs that most of us never ended up using after the first weeks of remote school in March and April. Mostly after that, we texted expletives. We texted memes of other angry, sometimes drunk, moms. J texted a picture of herself chugging wine straight from the bottle. C texted a photo of her 6-year-old, red-faced, yelling, prostrate on the floor. D texted us when her husband lost his job, and I reached out when my husband got furloughed. We complained about our children, about our partners, about our government. We asked one another what the hell was going on.

ALL MY GROUP TEXTS, except the one with my husband's family (which I admittedly keep muted), are with women. I've spent my whole life as a writer interested in female spaces: kitchen tables, children's birthday parties, living-room couches after the kids are in bed. So many of those meeting places have disappeared as we've been forced into our homes and away from one another.

We are, mostly women, spending whole days with our small children. We are working at odd hours. From 4 to 7 every morning. From 7 to 11 again at night. We are scared and we are exhausted and we are often by ourselves. We know better than to complain too much because no one besides the women like us seems to want to hear it. Because we are so privileged. Because there is no fixing the state we're in right now.

What I'm interested in too is all the systems that fail women. How we have long had and been primed to create systems of our own. It sounds silly: texting. It sounds flimsy. I'd prefer federal guidance and consistency, universal childcare. I'd prefer federally mandated maternity leave. I'd prefer the systems being fixed in order that we not have to rely on our own individual abilities to come together to survive.

When S got sick, she was not able to get a test because the hospitals were overrun with other patients. When schools closed down, other people were not supposed to come into our homes, but no one had any idea how we were meant to parent and to do our jobs at the same time. We text one another because we know no one is going to come save us, because we've learned that the only resources we have are the ones we build amongst ourselves.

"I hate everything," texts J when we get the third email from the school with a change of schedule. "I think I'm dying," texts R, the second day of online class, having not slept in almost a week because of work. C texts from the yard of the school where our kids used to go every day. "I'm sobbing," she says. "I cannot get a grip these last few weeks." Half an hour later, I text a picture of my kids in the same schoolyard. They're masked, on their scooters, making funny faces. We've come to get their supplies for remote learning. "I'm crying too now," I text underneath.

Strong is the author of the novels Want *and* Hold Still

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

Avoiding outbreaks

College reopenings were a mess, and we need to learn lessons from what went wrong, argues Gavin Yamey, director of Duke University's Center for Policy Impact in Global Health: **"Even in a best-case scenario, vaccine-generated herd immunity in the U.S. won't be reached until after late 2021 … so we have at least another 'pandemic school year' ahead."**

Prescient President

There's good reason to believe Jimmy Carter would have taken steps to confront the threat of climate change in a second term had Ronald Reagan not defeated him, writes Jonathan Alter in an excerpt of *His Very Best: Jimmy Carter, A Life:* **"Gains made under Carter's presidential leadership in the early 1980s might have bought the planet precious time."**

Rescue mission

After novelist Ellen Urbani's farm was spared by the Oregon wildfires, she joined neighbors in a frantic ad hoc operation to help evacuate livestock in nearby towns. **"It is the most desperate our communities have ever been," she writes, "and the most kind."**

ILLUSTRATION BY SOL COTTI FOR TIME

A Basic Blueprint for the Future

Gyeonggi Province Governor Lee, Jaemyung holds the card of "fairness" of the basic income message at the launching ceremony of the Local Government Council on Basic Income.

Basic Income & Local Currency Online Exhibition

The 2020 Korea Basic Income Fair in Gyeonggi Province drew half a million virtual supporters of universal basic income

The organizers were hoping for 100,000 participants. A half a million took part. The overwhelming turnout for the 2020 Korea Basic Income Fair, hosted by the Gyeonggi Provincial Government on September 10 and 11, made it crystal clear that universal basic income is an idea whose time has come.

The participants came from every corner of the planet. However, most who attended had never set foot in Gyeonggi Province, the most populous province in Korea. They joined the conference virtually, streaming the event or taking part through other digital pathways. The reason was obvious: COVID-19. But the fair showed that the COVID-19 pandemic could have a silver lining.

The 2nd Gyeonggi Province Basic Income International conference held in a contactless way

To cope with the health emergency, governments have been providing basic income payments to protect people's livelihoods and keep economies afloat. Now, more people and policymakers are realizing the potential economic and societal benefits of universal basic income.

"The traditional distribution structure of income to labor is drastically changing due to the pandemic-induced economic crisis and the development of AI and robot technologies," said Gyeonggi Province Governor Lee Jaemyung in his opening address at the fair.

The governor advocated for universal basic income not only as a means to help alleviate the pandemic's immediate hardships, but also to address a longer-term challenge posed by the Fourth Industrial Revolution: what will happen to workers as technology replaces jobs.

Many who spoke during the fair's five panel discussions shared the governor's views. They tackled topics that included: basic income financing strategies; modern capitalism, quality of life and basic income; and steppingstones to basic income — pilots and trial cases. Twenty-six scholars from 11 countries endorsed universal basic income as an "optimal model for the future." They called on governments to develop it as actual policy beyond the experimental stage.

The Gyeonggi Provincial Government is pioneering that endeavor. "Korea's disaster basic income initiative was first proposed and implemented by Gyeonggi Province. It has shown concrete economic and social effects," said Kim Jae-yong, Gyeonggi's Senior Secretary for Policy Commitment. Even before the pandemic, Gyeonggi was piloting basic income for youths. A survey found that 80% of those enrolled were satisfied with the project.

Universal basic income could also reduce inequality, unfairness and disparities: stubborn problems plaguing many societies. Malcolm Torry of the Basic Income Earth Network told the conference, "In a capitalist society, some possess capital or wealth, but some do not. So, it is important to implement basic income schemes that reduce this inequality."

Today, many nations blend capitalism with elements of a welfare state to varying degrees. Rapid technological changes are forcing policymakers to rethink how their economies are structured and how to employ and maximize technology for the common good. Some envision basic income as a cornerstone of a healthy new economy.

"Basic income is not just part of welfare policy, but also economic policy. It is a blueprint for the future," said Gyeonggi's Senior Secretary for Policy Kim Jae-yong. And with half a million people around the world building on the momentum of the 2020 Korea Basic Income Fair, that future may be just around the corner.

Global Inspiration
GyeongGi-Do

For more information about the 2020 Korea Basic Income Fair please visit: **https://basicincomefair.gg.go.kr/2020_en/**

© Time 2020. All rights reserved.

DATING

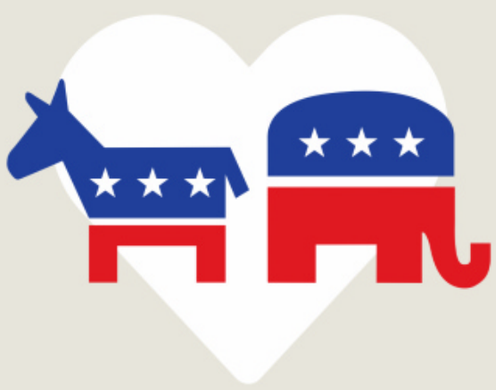
Down the aisle, but not across

To the list of institutions with which America's political divisions are messing, we can now add dating. Studies have increasingly suggested a rise in the number of people who are disinclined to date across party lines.

On Oct. 6, Match's yearly "Singles in America" report noted that half its 5,000 respondents believe it's not possible to date a person of a different political persuasion, up from a third in 2012. And three-quarters of those surveyed said it was important for their partners to share their political beliefs; only half felt that way in 2017. Before that, the numbers hadn't budged since the surveys began 10 years ago.

Some sociologists think this is a sign of further polarization. Others say people have been seeking more similarity in their consorts anyway. "Rising partisanship may be a relatively recent phenomenon, jet-propelled by Trump's entry into politics," says Philip N. Cohen, a sociology professor at the University of Maryland, College Park. "But it is primed by the long-term trend toward partnerships that are emotionally as well as sexually and financially fulfilling."

—Belinda Luscombe



A Xinhua reporter watches as Xi remotely addresses the U.N. General Assembly on Sept. 22

THE RISK REPORT

Despite strong recovery, China faces a world of trouble

By Ian Bremmer

YOU MIGHT THINK 2020 had been a pretty good year for China, at least when compared with the West. Though COVID-19 began its global march there, China's recovery has been remarkable. The government's unprecedented capacity for surveillance, large-scale testing, contact tracing and quarantine helped contain the outbreak inside China within two months. That success allowed for the restart of supply chains and enabled a state investment-led rebound. China could be the world's only large economy to grow this year. And as second waves of COVID-19 appear in Europe and the U.S., China hasn't had any serious outbreaks over the past month. Life there is nearly back to normal.

A closer look, however, reveals China's leadership has had a rough year. Many Chinese and others around the world likely haven't forgotten that the pandemic story began with a clumsy cover-up in Wuhan and a failed bid to silence Chinese doctors who tried to expose the true scale of danger. An illness that might have been contained inside China was allowed to cross borders. We will never know how many lives might have been saved in China and around the world if China's political leaders, who put the blame on bungling local officials, had behaved responsibly.

PRESIDENT XI JINPING has tried to divert domestic attention from the ruling party's failures with a much more aggressive foreign policy. A new security law in Hong Kong unveiled this summer is designed to crush pro-democracy activism and compromise what's left of the city's autonomy. A tougher approach on Taiwan, aggressive pushback against international criticism of mass incarceration of Muslim Uighurs in the Xinjiang region and a harder line on maritime territorial claims on the South China Sea are intended, in part, to rally Chinese citizens to their flag.

Xi has badly damaged Chinese credibility, even among governments that want stronger economic ties

This more assertive Beijing has helped push relations with the U.S. from bad to worse. The Senate responded to China's crackdown in Hong Kong with a rare unanimous vote in favor of sanctions. Washington continues to draw closer to Taiwan on both security and economic questions. On the South China Sea, the Trump Administration announced that it had officially aligned with a 2016 ruling from the Hague that explicitly denies Chinese claims there. And the Administration has continued its campaign against Chinese tech firms like Huawei and TikTok.

MARY ALTAFFER—AP

Speaking of Huawei, Britain dealt China a serious setback this summer as well. Brexit has only made strong economic ties with China that much more important. That's part of why Boris Johnson's government announced in January that the U.K. had chosen the Chinese tech giant for construction of its 5G networks over U.S. objections. Then in July, Johnson reversed course. Anger at China's COVID-19 cover-up, fury over Hong Kong, and new U.S. tech regulations targeting Huawei's supply chains made that decision much easier.

In Europe, Xi has badly damaged Chinese credibility, even among governments that want stronger economic ties. In addition to China's behavior over Hong Kong and Xinjiang and its bullying responses to international criticism, the European Commission accused China in June of running disinformation campaigns during the height of the pandemic in Europe. All of this has set back efforts to forge a China-E.U. investment treaty that would boost growth on both sides.

China hopes to undo some of the recent damage to its international image with the development of a COVID-19 vaccine that might be especially welcome in developing countries, particularly those that fear they'll be among the last to receive a vaccine made in the U.S. or Europe. That might work for China, so long as the product isn't as shoddily made as some of the COVID-19 supplies that China shipped to Europe earlier this year.

For now, Xi faces no organized opposition to his third leadership term in 2022. A recent 18-year prison sentence for an influential property developer who dared criticize Xi makes clear that he's on guard. And a continuing economic recovery should help him.

But this has been a surprisingly tough year for a Chinese leader who has faced few genuine stumbling blocks during his time in power. Now his attention turns to a U.S. election that might just elevate a new President more willing and better able to bring together all those who are angry at China into a more united front. □

ENVIRONMENT

This Election Day, the planet's future is at stake

By Justin Worland

AMERICAN PRESIDENTS TYPICALLY USE THEIR ANNUAL U.N. General Assembly speech to argue that U.S. leadership can shape the world for the better. Instead, on Sept. 22, President Donald Trump took the opportunity to condemn the global fight against climate change. "They only want to punish America, and I will not stand for it," he said, addressing the assembly virtually from the White House. The U.N. should instead "focus on the real problems of the world," he added.

Trump's rejection of climate change as a "real problem" is nothing new. But his comments, coming just weeks before Election Day, underscore the threat four more years of his leadership poses to the planet.

The Trump Administration has rolled back myriad U.S. environmental regulations, including a rule designed to reduce power-plant emissions, another requiring energy companies to stop methane leaks and yet another mandating that automakers build more efficient vehicles. Internationally, Trump has pulled the U.S. out of the Paris Agreement, a multilateral deal meant to curb climate change; his decision will become official the day after November's election. (His rival, Joe Biden, has promised to undo Trump's environmental deregulation.) Trump has also pushed other countries to invest in fossil fuels. "There has been nothing like [this] Administration on the environment in the last 50 years," says William Reilly, who led the Environmental Protection Agency under President George H.W. Bush.

CLIMATE EXPERTS CONSIDER the Trump years to be lost time—while also warning that we don't have four more years to waste. Scientists say we need to keep the rise in average global temperature well below 2°C to avoid catastrophe—think collapsing ice sheets that raise sea levels and make many coastal cities uninhabitable, in turn driving mass migration.

If re-elected, Trump would make that target difficult to achieve. Beyond the damage he's already done, his Administration could double down on more aggressive measures it previously deemed not worth the legal trouble.

One ripe target: the EPA itself. So far, the agency has failed to implement many of Trump's attempted climate rollbacks. But that's largely because of agency and legal decisions, not federal law. With a growing conservative majority on the Supreme Court and a federal judiciary increasingly dominated by Trump appointees, new legal challenges could leave the EPA weak. "The reshaping of the judiciary under the Trump Administration, toward a right-leaning judiciary that is not only willing but eager to shrink the administrative state, is simply not compatible with strong regulation of anything," says Cara Horowitz, executive director of the Emmett Institute on Climate Change and the Environment at UCLA School of Law.

Meanwhile, Washington is expected to spend trillions on infrastructure over the next two decades; Trump would undoubtedly prioritize fossil fuels over cleaner alternatives. If that infrastructure is built, we would likely use it for decades, locking ourselves into a dangerous path—and missing out on the economic benefits of clean energy.

A second Trump term would not necessarily guarantee the worst. Other leaders are eager to take point on defining the world's climate future. The European Union is working on a $1 trillion plan meant to eliminate the bloc's carbon footprint by 2050; E.U. leaders are also planning to tax high-carbon imports. And, in a surprise move in September, China said it would eliminate its carbon footprint by 2060.

Still, another four years of Trump will leave the U.S. stuck in a fossil-fuel-burning past while much of the rest of the world moves on—and reaps the benefits. "The U.S. could join this race to the top, and it could still win it," says Rachel Kyte, dean of the Fletcher School at Tufts University and former head of the World Bank's climate portfolio. "But the rest of the world has already started." □

'The U.S. could join this race to the top, and it could still win it.'

RACHEL KYTE, former head of the World Bank's climate portfolio

ILLUSTRATION BY PETER REYNOLDS FOR TIME

NEW!

Baked With Wind Energy!

USDA ORGANIC

PLANT-BASED

1% FOR THE PLANET

NON GMO Project VERIFIED nongmoproject.org

We sustainably bake the best from the Earth to bring you and your little ones the bread you deserve!

Baking with USDA Organic and Plant-based ingredients and using renewable wind energy reflect our commitment to bringing you sustainably baked breads. Learn more at Oroweat.com/Organic

©Disney ©Bimbo Bakeries USA, Inc. All rights reserved.

We can still save democracy from conspiracies

By Sacha Baron Cohen

A FEW TIMES IN MY CAREER, I HAVE GENUINELY FEARED FOR my life.

In Arkansas, I posed as an ultimate fighter at a cage match and challenged anyone in the audience to take me on. When my fake ex-boyfriend volunteered, we engaged in some heavy petting, triggering a near riot. The crowd—including some recently paroled prisoners with swastika tattoos—erupted in homophobic slurs and started hurling metal chairs at us. Had I not ducked into a trapdoor and out an escape tunnel, I think the crowd would have beaten me senseless.

Moments like that are frightening. Today, though, I'm truly terrified—for the survival of democracy itself.

A year ago, I spoke out publicly for the first time in my own voice because I feared that our pluralistic democracies were at risk of being destroyed by a flood of hate, lies and conspiracies spewed by demagogues and spread by social media. Since then, this toxic brew has exploded into the open and—with just weeks until the election—these conspiracies threaten to kill democracy as we know it.

For most of my career, I've been reluctant to take a public stance on the issues of the day. I've felt more comfortable in character—or in a mankini. Yes, a lot of my comedy is uncomfortably pubescent. But when it works, satire can humble the powerful and expose the ills of society. As Abbie Hoffman, who helped lead the 1968 protests against the Vietnam War during the Democratic convention in Chicago, liked to say, "Sacred cows make the tastiest hamburger." By getting people to reveal what they really believe, I have at times exposed the ignorance, bigotry and conspiratorial delusions that often lurk just below the surface of our modern lives.

Using unhinged lies and conspiracies to gain power and subjugate others is, of course, nothing new. The blood libel—the myth that Jews murdered Christian children and used their blood for religious rituals—is the world's oldest conspiracy, dating back to the Middle Ages. The lie that Black people are genetically inferior or inherently violent is at the core of white supremacy. The lie that women are biologically or mentally unequal to men—to be treated as property and body-shamed—has perpetuated millennia of patriarchy. The lie that there is an epidemic in the U.S. of babies being executed shortly after birth has helped fuel state bans on abortion, even in the case of rape or incest.

JAMIE LEE CURTIS TAETE (4)

The fate of U.S. democracy now rests with voters and whether they stand up in record numbers and choose truth over lies

TODAY, HOWEVER, is a uniquely dangerous moment. Donald Trump—who averages 23 lies a day and is the world's greatest superspreader of coronavirus conspiracies—has caught the virus himself. He has a dutiful ally in Facebook—the greatest propaganda machine in history. And this is a time when Americans are especially vulnerable to lies and conspiracies. This trifecta has created a whirlwind of conspiratorial madness.

First, trailing in the polls, Trump clearly believes that his only hope for political survival is to spin an alternate universe: Beijing deliberately spread the "Chinese virus," we're told, "Don't be afraid of Covid," and the election is "rigged" unless states "get rid of" mail-in ballots. It's as if we're in the final days of the Age of Reason—the Enlightenment-induced commitment to evidence, science and objective fact. "Truth isn't truth," the President's lawyer Rudy Giuliani has said, and facts are "in the eye of the beholder." We are told, without any sense of Orwellian irony, to deny the very existence of our external reality.

Second, the Demagogue in Chief has a willing accomplice in Mark Zuckerberg's Facebook—a megaphone that history's worst autocrats could only dream of. Its algorithm deliberately amplifies content that generates more engagement—and as one unnamed Facebook executive recently told Politico, "Right-wing populism is always more engaging" because it triggers "anger, fear" and "an incredibly

Conspiracy theories and misinformation on display at anti-lockdown (top left, top right, bottom right) *and pro-Trump* (bottom left) *rallies in California during May and August*

strong, primitive emotion." Not surprisingly, most days the top 10 Facebook posts are overwhelmingly from right-wing pundits and outlets.

Facebook largely refuses to fact-check political ads and posts—which it then microtargets to voters. And Facebook still hasn't taken down Trump's "when the looting starts, the shooting starts." Astonishingly, Facebook continues to give a platform to white supremacists and Holocaust deniers. It's as if the satirist Jonathan Swift foresaw the awful power of social media when he said, "Falsehood flies, and truth comes limping after it."

Third, all these lies couldn't come at a worse time. Studies show that people are especially susceptible to conspiracies in periods of great uncertainty when they feel a loss of control over their lives and want answers to make sense of the world. Over the years, I've filmed people, who otherwise seemed to be good and decent, repeating lethal conspiracies—regurgitating the diet of lies that they have been fed hourly on social media.

In recent months, millions of people viewed a conspiracy video claiming that face masks can cause coronavirus before Facebook and YouTube eventually took it down. On Oct. 6, Facebook finally banned QAnon—the bonkers conspiracy theory that Trump is battling a cabal of Satan-worshipping pedophiles (mostly Democrats and celebrities) who drink the blood of children, an unmistakable echo of anti-Semitic blood libel—but not before pushing it to millions of Americans and people around the world. The shared reality upon which democracy depends has been shredded.

It would all be hilarious if it weren't so dangerous. In his famous experiment in the 1960s, the Yale psychology professor Stanley Milgram found that when instructed to do so by a perceived authority figure, most people complied and administered what they believed were dangerous electric shocks to a person in the next room, even as they heard the "victim" (an actor) scream in pain. On my show *Who Is America?,* I convinced a man who believed Trump's conspiracies to visit a women's march in San Francisco and push a button that I told him would kill a person who he thought was an "antifa terrorist."

FOR HIS SUPPORTERS, Trump is the authority figure whose cues they will follow. With his history of inciting violence and emboldening militias and white-supremacist groups and dozens of cases where his supporters have attacked innocent people in his name, we'd have to be the real fools not to see the perils ahead. The violent clashes between Trump supporters and protesters in Portland, Ore., were a preview of how a contentious election could spiral into violence.

Conspiracies are lethal—to our health and to our democracy—and Election Day is now only weeks away. Even as Trump is being treated for COVID-19, he continues to rage-tweet lies and conspiracy theories so fast, it's virtually impossible to correct them all. Although it removed one misleading Trump post about coronavirus on Oct. 5, Facebook has repeatedly failed to block other disinformation and refuses to implement systemic reforms advocated by the Stop Hate for Profit campaign, of which I am a part.

The fate of U.S. democracy now rests with voters and whether they stand up in record numbers and choose truth over lies. As protesters outside the 1968 Democratic convention chanted after they were brutally beaten by police, "The whole world is watching"—and this time it's to see whether our planet's oldest democracy will endure or slide into autocracy.

While filming my latest *Borat* film, I showed up as a right-wing singer at a gun-rights rally in Washington State. When organizers finally stormed the stage, I rushed to a nearby getaway vehicle. An angry crowd blocked our way and started pounding on the vehicle with their fists. Under my overalls, I was wearing a bulletproof vest, but it felt inadequate with some people outside toting semiautomatic weapons. When someone ripped open the door to drag me out, I used my entire body weight to pull the door back shut until our vehicle maneuvered free.

I was fortunate to make it out in one piece. The next few weeks will determine whether America will be so lucky.

Baron Cohen is a comedian, actor and screenwriter. He appears in the upcoming films The Trial of the Chicago 7 *and* Borat Subsequent Moviefilm: Delivery of Prodigious Bribe to American Regime for Make Benefit Once Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan

President Trump stages a theatrical return to the White House on Oct. 5 after three days of hospitalization for COVID-19

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANNA MONEYMAKER

Nation

Patient Zero

DONALD TRUMP FACES HIS PERSONAL AND POLITICAL VULNERABILITY

By Molly Ball

THE PRESIDENT STOOD TRIUMPHANT ON THE WHITE HOUSE balcony, having persuaded his doctors to submit to his will. He had spent his days at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center pushing them to let him out, medical advice be damned. Donald Trump tore off his mask and seemed to gasp for breath, but he would not be deterred from delivering his message.

"Don't let it dominate; don't let it take over your lives," he said, biting off each word. No one must think the virus had defeated him.

His supporters reveled in his return. A Congressman crowed that Trump had beaten the virus just like he beat the Russia investigation and the Democrats' impeachment. His press secretary—who announced her own case of COVID-19 earlier that day—hailed his ability to "stand strongly on the balcony!" A Senator tweeted a doctored video showing Trump at a wrestling match, punching a man with a coronavirus sphere for a head. The Republicans understand the way Trump likes to be praised; even facing a crisis with life-or-death stakes, they sensed what he wanted was not words of sympathy or compassion, but to be told he had kicked ass. A $100 TRUMP DEFEATS COVID souvenir coin was soon available for preorder from an unaffiliated White House gift shop. It wasn't clear that Trump has weathered the disease as well as he claimed. His doctors have given scant information and sidestepped questions about how long he might have had the virus. Medical experts questioned his hasty discharge, pointing out he'd been administered treatments normally reserved for serious cases. Trump had gone to the hospital grudgingly, then announced on Twitter he would be released in order to force the issue, according to two White House officials. "People look up to the President for answers," says Chuck Hagel, the former Republican Senator and Defense Secretary, "and he supplies them with falsehoods that put their lives at risk."

A President obsessed with strength and dominance could never stand to be revealed as a sick, vulnerable old man, a mortal made of flesh like the rest of us, ashes to ashes. There could never be a Wizard of Oz moment for Donald J. Trump, with his might-makes-right brand of politics. In recent weeks, he has bullied the Congress, his political opponent and the very machinery of democracy itself, all while mocking health precautions, practically daring the virus to infect him. He would sacrifice those around him, the country and even potentially his own health—anything it took not to appear weak.

When the President sneezes, America gets a cold. When the President gets COVID-19, America, too, must contemplate its frailty. His pathologies are our pathologies. Trump, like COVID, has scrambled our sense of national identity, with effects that will linger beyond Nov. 3. What have these past four years done to us—and what will it take to recover? Will we be humbled by weakness, or plunge forward in a state of dangerous denial?

One thing was clear as the President stood there: Trump had made his choice. ("He was huffing and puffing on the balcony like an American Mussolini," said his disillusioned former communications director Anthony Scaramucci.) Let the losers carp about masks and viral loads. He will stand unbowed, a winner to the very end. He will not be saved from himself.

MANY THINGS ARE POSSIBLE to the man who sees no obstacles; this is the strongman's appeal, and it has been Trump's MO for as long as anyone can remember. Other Presidents might have hesitated to ram a Supreme Court nomination through the Senate on the eve of an election and in the face of public opposition. Supreme Court confirmations normally take months, and many Republicans had previously argued that voters should have a say in such matters in an election year. The Senate still had yet to get around to debating legislation to boost the COVID-ravaged economy. Trump, man of action, ignored these quibbles.

The nominee, federal judge Amy Coney Barrett, was presented to the public on Saturday, Sept. 26, the day after Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg lay in state at the Capitol. In the sun-drenched White House Rose Garden, more than 100 mostly maskless guests hugged and chatted before taking their seats on tightly packed folding chairs. Afterward, they mingled at receptions indoors.

This is the way things have been at the White House since the beginning of the pandemic. To acknowledge or accommodate the virus was a weakness that invited ridicule. Trump grimaced when he saw aides wearing masks; he would say he couldn't hear or understand masked officials when they spoke, current and former aides tell TIME. When Deputy National

Trump nominates Amy Coney Barrett to the Supreme Court on Sept. 26; multiple attendees got COVID-19

Security Adviser Matt Pottinger told colleagues he wore a face covering to protect a family member with a respiratory condition, he was informed it was "freaking people out" and he should stop doing so around the President.

On Sept. 29, Trump traveled to Cleveland to participate in the first general-election debate, pausing on the South Lawn to raise a fist at the cheering supporters gathered to see him off. After being seated in a Cleveland Clinic auditorium for the 90-minute debate, several members of the Trump family and Administration removed their masks in violation of the clinic's rules, and rebuffed a clinic staffer who tried to offer them new ones. The candidates themselves were supposed to have been tested by their campaigns, but it's unclear if Trump was.

The debate was a mess: Trump hectored and interrupted so relentlessly that the proceedings devolved into chaos. Invited to condemn a white-supremacist group, Trump instead told them to "stand by." He refused to commit to accepting election results, insisting mail-in ballots would lead to a "rigged" result. He ridiculed Joe Biden's mask wearing and charged that the Democrat was only holding small, socially distanced events "because nobody will show up." Biden and moderator Chris Wallace both seemed dazed by the President's aggression. And that was the point.

The day after, Trump traveled to Minnesota for a rally and indoor fundraiser. His longtime aide Hope Hicks felt ill, and sat apart from other passengers on Air Force One on the ride home. Undaunted, Trump went to his New Jersey golf club for a maskless, partially indoor fundraiser the following day. "The end of the pandemic is in sight," he said in an address to a charity banquet. That night, Bloomberg News revealed Hicks had tested positive for COVID-19.

Although nobody admitted it until later, by that point Trump had already taken a rapid coronavirus test that returns results within 15 minutes—and tested positive. He called in to Sean Hannity's Fox News show that night as he waited for the results of a more reliable PCR test, saying nothing about the initial positive result. Just before 1 a.m. on Friday, Oct. 2, Trump announced his and the First Lady's diagnoses on Twitter.

More and more people who'd been around Trump began testing positive. A dozen guests at the Rose Garden event would announce they'd contracted the virus, including two Republican Senators, Trump confidants Kellyanne Conway and Chris Christie, and three members of the White House press office. By Oct. 6, the tally had grown to include another Senator, the chairwoman of the Republican National Committee, White House adviser Stephen Miller, Trump campaign manager Bill Stepien and a Coast Guard admiral who'd attended a reception in honor of military families.

Trump grew sick rapidly and was airlifted to the hospital the same day he announced his diagnosis. He was "fairly adamant that he didn't need" the oxygen he was administered, said his physician, Navy Commander Sean Conley. Over the weekend, the White House released posed photos and videos of Trump attempting to look vigorous and focused on work while he received a combination of treatments normally reserved for severe COVID-19 cases and medical-trial subjects. The White House refused to say when Trump had last tested negative, and did not fully trace his contacts or cooperate with local public-health officials in the places the President had traveled. Conley offered vague, rosy descriptions of Trump's condition. The American people might wish to know whether their President was gravely ill, but that would have to take a backseat to Trump's insistence on playacting invulnerability.

ALL THE WHILE, the President is fighting for his political survival, and there, too, the news is not good, despite his protestations. In what is likely his last political campaign, he trails Biden steadily in the polls, by margins that seem to be widening. Trump has been unpopular since the day he took office, but it took his diagnosis and the ensuing chaos to make his mesmerized party register the political danger. "Even when the polls were ugly, he felt invincible to a lot of people," says GOP lobbyist Liam Donovan.

PREVIOUS PAGES: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; THESE PAGES: ALEX BRANDON—AP

"Now they're starting to come to grips with the fact that there's no more time to turn things around. Reality is cracking the force field."

For more than two years, Sarah Longwell, a "Never Trump" Republican operative, has been conducting focus groups with women in swing states who voted for Trump in 2016 but think he is doing a bad job as President. They are blue collar and white collar, young and old; most live in conservative communities. Since the pandemic hit, Longwell says, many of these women have stopped defending Trump. His bullying manner resonates with hardcore fans, but these women are put off by it—repulsed by his refusal to commit to a peaceful transfer of power, a Supreme Court push they see as hypocritical, his demeanor in the debate and online. Liberal women on Twitter often compare Trump to an abusive ex-husband, but these women "don't see his behavior as threatening—they see it as dumb," Longwell says. In the days after Trump's diagnosis, national polls showed Biden expanding his lead to double digits, powered by a yawning gender gap. A CNN poll showed Trump winning male voters by 2 points but losing women by 34.

There are now more coronavirus cases connected to the White House outbreak than New Zealand has reported for the past week. The Rose Garden presentation of the President's political Hail Mary—the court nominee who would galvanize women and conservatives and make everyone forget the virus—may have had the opposite effect. Trump himself is the single greatest source of false information about the election and COVID-19, according to separate studies by Cornell and Harvard. He is our national superspreader: of disinformation, of fear and division, of pure exhaustion.

But to Trump, science is just another biased Deep State lie, another loser to be bullied into submission. He could have done the responsible thing, but his ideology is strength. It is too soon to write the epitaph of the Trump presidency, but one day we may look back and see this as his ultimate weakness. —*With reporting by* ABIGAIL ABRAMS, ALANA ABRAMSON, BRIAN BENNETT, VERA BERGENGRUEN, MARIAH ESPADA, W.J. HENNIGAN, ABBY VESOULIS, LISSANDRA VILLA *and* JULIA ZORTHIAN

Things Fall Apart

THREE WEEKS WITH VOTERS REVEALS A COLLAPSING CONSENSUS

By Charlotte Alter

A LIFETIME AGO, ON SEPT. 14, GREG VANLANDEGHEM SAT outside a café in Holly, Mich., and explained to me that he planned to vote for the President's re-election because he saw the race as a contest between two bad options. "We've got a guy trying not to die," he told me, "and we've got Trump."

The candidate Vanlandeghem described as "trying not to die" was Joe Biden, the 77-year-old former Vice President, who's been dogged by right-wing attacks on his mental acuity. But now, the "guy trying not to die" might well be the 74-year-old President, who was being treated with supplemental oxygen and a battery of drugs after contracting COVID-19, a lethal virus that can cause everything from pneumonia to strokes to neurological impairment. Vanlandeghem, a 37-year-old home builder, is a social and fiscal conservative, but he didn't vote for Trump four years ago and considers the President a "buffoon." If anyone's mind was going to be changed by Trump's diagnosis, I thought perhaps it might be him.

Vanlandeghem was unfazed. "I think it's unfortunate," he said, after I called him back to ask his opinion on the latest updates. "But it's something that a vast majority of the population is going to come down with at one point or another." He still isn't considering voting for Biden.

I wasn't surprised. Once again, history was unfolding in Washington; once again, voters seemed to be reacting with a collective shrug. If there is one constant in this extraordinary presidential election, it's that every time the political class declares that a news event will permanently reshape the race, it usually seems to evaporate into the ether. The President could be impeached for abuse of power, publicly muster white supremacists, tear-gas peaceful protesters for a photo op, pay less than his employees in taxes, declare that he'd refuse to accept the results of the election, hold a possible superspreader event at the White House—and millions of Americans will ignore it. To half of us, all this is an outrage; to the other half, none of it matters.

How voters are processing Trump's behavior at this fractured moment may be the most important question of the 2020 election. But it's a tricky one to answer in the midst of a pandemic that has turned the campaign into one interminable Zoom call. It's hard to get a read on a race that has limited travel for both candidates and reporters, a contest with countless

A confrontation during the President's visit to Kenosha, Wis., on Sept. 1

PATIENCE ZALANGA FOR TIME

polls but few insights, lots of speeches but few crowds, plenty of talking heads but few ordinary voices. So in September, after recovering from COVID-19 myself, I spent three weeks driving across the battleground states of Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania, trying to get a fix on what's happening between the ears of the people most likely to determine the winner on Nov. 3.

The more people I met, the more I detected something deep and unpredictable lurking beneath the surface, something that I wasn't sure was reflected in the polling data, something that maybe couldn't even be measured at all. My phone was filling with news: news about wildfires engulfing the West Coast; news about Trump reportedly calling fallen soldiers "losers" and "suckers"; news about the death toll from COVID-19 passing 200,000; news of Trump's admitting to journalist Bob Woodward on tape that he had intentionally downplayed the virus, purportedly to avoid causing a panic. But almost nobody seemed to be talking about these headlines, and when I asked about them, people often didn't believe them or didn't care. I felt caught in the chasm between the election as it was being reported by my colleagues in the press and the election as it was being experienced by the voters.

Most Trump voters I met had clear, well-articulated reasons for supporting him: he had lowered their taxes, appointed antiabortion judges, presided over a soaring stock market. These voters wielded their rationality as a shield: their goals were sound, and the President was achieving them, so didn't it make sense to ignore the tweets, the controversies and the media frenzy?

But there was a darker strain. For every two people who offered a rational and informed reason for why they were supporting Biden or Trump, there was another—almost always a Trump supporter—who offered an explanation divorced from reality. You could call this persistent style of untethered reasoning "unlogic." Unlogic is not ignorance or stupidity; it is reason distorted by suspicion and misinformation, an Orwellian state of mind that arranges itself around convenient fictions rather than established facts.

At its most acute, unlogic manifested as a belief in dangerous falsehoods, from the cult of QAnon to the conviction that COVID-19 is a hoax. But the milder forms of unlogic were more pervasive: believing that most reports about the President were fabricated by lying reporters (they aren't) or that Biden is a socialist (he isn't) or that the coronavirus is no worse than the flu, as Trump keeps insisting (it's far more deadly). Unlogic erupted on the left after Trump's COVID-19 diagnosis,

with liberals online speculating that Trump is faking his illness (he isn't).

With so many voters ignoring the headlines, it became increasingly hard to tell where most Americans fall on the continuum from reason to unlogic. In the absence of agreed-upon facts, the possibility of consensus itself seemed to be disappearing, and the effect was unsettling.

Most of the time, voters reacted to news events in ways that conformed to what they already believed. When I first met Eddie Kabacinski, a city-council member in Warren, Mich., in mid-September, he gestured to my mask and said, "So you're saying the air that we breathe outside, there's something wrong with that? That's kind of like, you're not all there." I nodded and tugged my mask under my chin to appease him. "We need to get back to reality," he added.

When I called Kabacinski back after Trump's hospitalization, he was in the middle of a "MAGA drag," a procession of cars waving Trump flags as they cruised down I-75 . "It does no good for our Commander in Chief to be showing cowardice and wearing a mask," he told me. "He's the President of the United States. Nobody has the right to question him."

A Black Lives Matter supporter near the site where Jacob Blake was shot by police in Kenosha, Wis.

DEMOCRACY, AT LEAST in theory, relies on a rational electorate acting in response to credible information. Since the dawn of mass media, elections have been shaped by voters' reactions to the news. But as I drove through the three states that decided the 2016 election by a little less than 80,000 votes, I sensed a glitch in the information loop, like a scratch on an old-fashioned record. People kept repeating things that were false, and dismissing things that were true.

Over the course of three weeks, I spoke to nearly 200 people of all political persuasions. There were Biden diehards and Trump Republicans, tepid Democrats, old-fashioned conservatives, even the elusive undecided voter. I spoke to Wisconsinites in the conservative suburbs of Milwaukee and the streets of Kenosha, where the windows downtown were boarded up and spray-painted with phrases like LOVE IS THE ANSWER after nights of racial-justice protests; Michiganders in the swingy counties surrounding Detroit and in red-to-blue districts near Flint; Pennsylvanians in the suburbs around Pittsburgh and bellwether Luzerne County. I approached voters on sidewalks and in grocery stores and as they waited in line for restaurant tables. I was kicked out of Target parking lots and shopping malls. My diet consisted mostly of egg breakfasts, granola bars and dirty looks. I learned to say, "Hi there!" with an extra chirp, smiling with my voice since nobody could see my mouth behind my mask.

PEOPLE KEPT REPEATING THINGS THAT WERE FALSE, AND DISMISSING THINGS THAT WERE TRUE

Much of the time, I got back into my white Ford rental with a pit in my stomach. Conspiracy theories like QAnon—the perverse delusion that Trump is the final defense against a "deep state" cabal of Democrats and Hollywood elite who traffic and rape children—kept cropping up in my conversations. Two women in Cedarburg, Wis., told me the "cabal" was running tunnels under the U.S. to traffic children so elites could torture them and drink their blood. When I checked into an airport hotel in Kalamazoo, Mich., the night manager made small talk about politicians running a pedophile ring as he directed me to the elevator.

The day after Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg died, I asked two women carrying Trump face masks in Mt. Lebanon, Pa., what they thought of the late Supreme Court Justice. They would only give me their first names, Kelly and Karen, because they did not trust the media. "I think we've been lied to: she died last year," Kelly said.

A Trump supporter with a campaign flag turned out to see the President's motorcade in Wisconsin

PATIENCE ZALANGA FOR TIME (2)

"I'm furloughed, so I have a lot of time to research things." Karen added that they both watch OANN, a pro-Trump news network, because "I'm fed up with being blasted every day, people telling me how I should think, how I should feel." OANN, Kelly added, is "like dry toast. They just give you the facts."

As he returned his shopping cart after a trip to a Walmart in Sterling Heights, Mich., Michael Thomas, a 41-year-old who works in automotive-paint delivery, listed all the reasons he planned to vote for Trump again: he's a Christian who opposes abortion and backs the Second Amendment. But also: "I believe in Q [and] Pizzagate," he said, referring to the conspiracy theory that Democrats trafficked children out of the basement of a D.C. pizza parlor. Where does he find this information? He shrugged as he pulled out his keys."The Internet," he said simply.

The fact that a growing segment of the electorate has gone off the deep end is as much of a concern to many Republicans as it is to Democrats. "The only constant for a lot of voters has been 'choose your own reality,'" says Tyler Brown, a former digital director for the Republican National Committee who is now president of Hadron Strategies. "Broadly speaking, Republican voters are less likely to accept what they read in the mainstream media on face value," he adds. "I can see how that worldview can start to make people feel like they're existing within two different realities."

Kaitlin Martin, a 30-year-old nanny in Macomb County, Michigan, a politically purple region north of Detroit, was one of the few people I met who professed to be truly undecided about how to vote this year. She dislikes Trump: "I don't respect someone who can be so unkind to people," she says. On the other hand, she's seen some things online that give her pause about Biden. "I don't know what's real and what's photoshopped," she said. "Is it dementia? Or is it his stutter? In a year or two, is he going to deteriorate? Now everybody is out there saying he's a pedophile." She's not sure that she believes any of it.

All of these suspicions are like swirling clouds in a monster hurricane, tearing through the possibility of consensus in American democracy, chewing up the guardrails, ripping out the precedents; a hurricane going nowhere, with nothing at its center. The chaos and confusion can feel overwhelming, says Rolando Morales, a stay-at-home dad who's retired from the medical-software industry, pausing on his way out of a Jimmy John's sandwich shop in Racine, Wis. "You're so sick of everything, you don't know what to trust anymore," he said. Morales voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016, and his wife and father-in-law are pro-Biden. But the violence over the summer in Kenosha made him wonder if he should vote for Trump. He doesn't even know what to think anymore.

"It feels like there's a new America being created, and I don't know who's cut out to deal with it," he said. "We've headed somewhere different right now. And I don't know where."

Trump opponents and supporters don't just merely disagree on issues, many live in different realities

DISTRUST OF THE ESTABLISHMENT has always existed in America; historian Richard Hofstadter famously called it "the paranoid style." But now it's amplified by social-media networks whose algorithms reward extremism, and championed by a misinformation warrior who happens to serve as the President of the United States. In a study of more than 38 million articles about the pandemic, researchers at Cornell University recently found that President Trump was the single biggest driver of false information about coronavirus. A major Harvard study released in October found that Trump had perfected the manipulation of mass media to spread false information about mail-in voting, and that the President was an even bigger source of disinformation than "Russian bots or Facebook clickbait artists." No wonder, then, that so many Americans are caught in the confusion, unsure what to believe.

When I asked David Cracchiolo, a Michigan land developer, about a report in the *Atlantic* that Trump called American war dead "losers" and "suckers," Cracchiolo explained it was "a complete lie": "He didn't say it." Karen Martin, a registered nurse who works in Pittsburgh, said she was skeptical of all the "hype" around COVID-19. People die of the flu, too, she reminded me. "I think the media overblew a lot of it," she said. Why else had her hospital been bracing for an influx of critically ill patients that never came?

When I called Martin back to ask about Trump's health, she said the diagnosis changed nothing for her. "I don't think you could really blame him," she said. "I'm not sure what other precautions we could have been taking."

"He's clearly made some mistakes," Tom Schettino said when I asked him about the President's handling of the pandemic. Schettino and his wife Grace are senior citizens who have lost four friends to COVID-19, and they were wearing masks when I encountered them in a Wilkes-Barre, Pa., mall. "I don't know if anyone could have done it better," Schettino shrugged.

I called Schettino back recently to see if his thinking had changed. "It is what it is," he said, inadvertently borrowing a phrase the President used to describe the pandemic's death toll. "He's probably not prudent doing all these rallies and stuff, but he's gotta live with it, and hopefully it gets better." He still plans to vote for Trump again in November because he opposes Democratic economic policies.

And then there is Greg Vanlandeghem. After Trump was inaugurated, "I prayed that he would say something unifying, be a leader, instead of being a spoiled brat," he said. He was one of the rare people I spoke with who did, in fact, change his mind. When I called him back after the President's diagnosis, he informed me that he no longer intended to vote for Trump—but not because of the frenzy around his COVID diagnosis. After watching his obnoxious antics at the first presidential debate, he had decided he probably wouldn't bother voting at all. Still, he said, the President's conduct "doesn't really affect our lives as much as our government telling us to shut our business down for no reason or shelter in place."

BIDEN'S CAMPAIGN IS BUILT on the opposite premise: that a President's character is as important as his politics. Since launching his bid for the White House, the Democratic nominee has positioned himself as the antidote to Trumpian chaos, the steady leader who can guide the nation back to sanity and stability. His pledge to "restore the soul of America" promises a return to a time when Republicans and Democrats could be civil, even friendly, as they vigorously debated matters of great importance. The apple-pie vision did little to excite progressives enthralled with candidates like Senators Bernie Sanders or Elizabeth Warren, who promised "revolution" and "big structural change." But while his primary opponents raced to the left to argue over who could change America faster, Biden won over the many voters at the end of their ropes. "I wish everything could go back to normal," sighed Gwen Bogan, a Biden supporter shopping in the hardware aisle of a Walmart in North Milwaukee.

The polls kept showing Biden with a sturdy lead, but you wouldn't know it from driving through the neighborhoods that make up Biden's path to victory. Out in the battleground states, Biden's statistical advantage seems muted compared to the ostentatious displays of Trumpian devotion. After four years of mobilizing grassroots armies that helped elect Democratic governors in Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania, and flip six House seats in those states, I expected to see more visible enthusiasm for Biden. Instead, everywhere I looked I saw Trump memorabilia: flags strapped to boats bobbing in Racine Harbor, trucks in Michigan parking lots with massive signs

PATIENCE ZALANGA FOR TIME

reading TRUMP: NO MORE BULLSH-T. At a pro-Trump gathering in Kenosha, a week after the shooting of Jacob Blake, I saw a young woman, barely a teenager, in a T-shirt that read TRUMP 2020: BECAUSE F-CK YOU. I saw more Biden signs in one afternoon in Mt. Lebanon, Pa., than in eight days of driving through Michigan.

That's partly because the Biden campaign, in a nod to public health, had until the final stretch focused almost entirely on digital organizing and phone banking instead of traditional canvassing. At two Biden events, I saw pro-Trump protesters show up with flags, while Biden supporters were few and far between. The Biden campaign says all this is intentional: they are seeking to keep events small to curtail transmission of the coronavirus. Only in the past week or so has the Biden campaign embraced on-the-ground campaigning, with teams of canvassers knocking doors in key states and a socially distanced crowd greeting Biden on a recent train trip through Pennsylvania.

But the battle for the nation's future isn't just about public shows of force from the rival campaigns. It's playing out in intimate conversations all over the country, as Americans struggle to preserve what feels like an increasingly fragile union.

Jackie Brown and Josh Scott had been engaged for less than a day when they explained their diverging political views to me outside a Pennsylvania mall. Brown, who is Black, thought Trump was racist, sexist and erratic on foreign policy. "I think that Biden is a candidate who can work across the aisle," she said. Scott, who is white, voted for Trump in 2016 and was considering voting for him again, because "I'm not for the social programs Biden has laid out," which he thinks would require more taxes. The couple had been dating a year and a half; he proposed that morning.

After Brown, an attorney, rattled off her indictment of the Trump Administration—from the politicization of the Supreme Court to violations of the Hatch Act—I asked how their political conversations usually go. "Poorly," Scott said, "but we respect each other's opinions." Brown looked at him sideways and, twisting the new ring around her finger, said, "He's trying to convince me less than I'm trying to convince him."

—*With reporting by* LESLIE DICKSTEIN *and* SIMMONE SHAH ◻

Treating Trump

THE PRESIDENT'S REGIMEN HAS BEEN UNUSUAL—AND POTENTIALLY RISKY

By Alice Park

WHEN U.S. PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP REVEALED ON OCT. 2 that he was positive for COVID-19, he became just the third world leader, after U.K. Prime Minister Boris Johnson and Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, known to be affected by the virus that has infected more than 35 million people and killed more than a million worldwide. Over the next few days, more than a dozen of his close staff and campaign members also tested positive. Public-health experts who have been criticizing Trump and his Administration's consistent downplaying of the pandemic and the importance of social distancing and mask wearing quickly pivoted to questioning the specialized treatment he received that seemed to veer from the standard of care that most patients receive.

In each of the three days following Trump's announcement that he'd tested positive, his doctors added a new major therapy. On the first, the President received an experimental combination of two monoclonal antibodies to help his immune system fight the coronavirus infection, according to his physician, Sean Conley. The next day, he was hospitalized at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center and given remdesivir, a drug provided intravenously that blocks the coronavirus's ability to make more copies of itself. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration has not approved remdesivir but has given it emergency-use authorization for treating COVID-19. On day three, Trump's doctors revealed he was also taking dexamethasone, a corticosteroid typically administered to control the inflammatory response common in more advanced stages of the disease.

While many hospitalized patients recently diagnosed with COVID-19 receive some of these drugs at some point in their care, most have not been given all of them, and most have not been treated so soon after their infection as Trump appears to have been. The questions about his treatment regimen intensified when Conley did not provide a clear timeline of when the President last tested negative, and initially avoided questions about whether he needed supplemental oxygen. That would have implications for whether Trump received therapies sooner than most patients currently do or in line with standard protocols, and how blurry the line is as to whether the President's treatment represents the cutting edge of COVID-19 care or a form of presidential perk that further exposes the divide in health care access and quality in the U.S. For the President, that means "maximizing all aspects of his care, attacking this virus [with a] multipronged approach," as Conley said during a briefing. "As [he is] the President, I didn't want to hold anything back. If there was any possibility that it would add value to his care

and expedite his return, I wanted to take it, and the team agreed."

The first treatment Trump received was monoclonal antibodies made by Regeneron, designed to treat non-hospitalized patients early in their infection—as the President apparently was by his doctor's account when he got them. But generally, patients have to be enrolled in a clinical trial to receive them, since researchers are still trying to learn more about their safety and effectiveness. In rare exceptions, doctors can apply for compassionate use outside of these studies for any of their patients; that, according to Regeneron, is how Trump received the drugs.

Remdesivir, meanwhile, was until recently authorized only for hospitalized patients who are moderately to severely ill and in need of supplemental oxygen. That authorization was expanded on Aug. 28 to include any hospitalized COVID-19 patient, since criteria for *mild, moderate* and *severely ill* are still fluid and more subjective than objective. Even so, those hospitalized patients have generally been sicker for longer than Trump appears to have been: "The thing that is odd is that in most [remdesivir] trials people usually have symptoms eight, nine or 10 days [before they receive the drug]," says Dr. Walid Gellad, director of the Center for Pharmaceutical Policy and Prescribing at the University of Pittsburgh. "From that standpoint, it's a little unprecedented that anyone so early [in their disease] would be receiving it."

As for the corticosteroid dexamethasone—the third drug Trump received—studies suggest it can reduce the COVID-19-related inflammation that can affect respiratory tissues and ultimately make it difficult for patients to breathe. The latest study from the U.K., however, showed that while the steroid provided benefit for people who were on ventilators or relied on supplemental oxygen, the drug did not seem to help people who did not need additional oxygen. That's why both the U.S. National Institutes of Health and the World Health Organization recommend dexamethasone only for hospitalized patients who need supplemental oxygen or who are on a ventilator. After initially evading questions about whether Trump had needed supplemental oxygen—"I didn't want to give any information that might steer the course of illness in another direction"—Conley confirmed that the President's blood oxygen saturation level dipped twice over the first two days after he revealed his diagnosis and that he was given supplemental oxygen at least once, on Oct. 2. Those drops, Conley said in a briefing, prompted the team to start dexamethasone.

There is no consensus over how long a patient needs to be on supplemental oxygen before doctors would consider using the steroid, as studies of the drug, along with other medications that can reduce inflammation, are continuing. But Gellad, for one, says Trump's case seems unusual. "What is very odd is that dexamethasone is not typically used in someone whose symptoms just started a few days ago and with one blip of low oxygen and who is otherwise walking on their own with no need for oxygen," he says. "So, either he is worse than they have admitted to or they are using the drug in a way that is not in the usual standard of care."

Dexamethasone has potential side effects, including neurological changes, which is why most doctors are judicious about using it. While studies show the corticosteroid can help lower mortality among COVID-19 patients by up to a third (for those on ventilators) compared with those not receiving it, it also inhibits the immune system and can make people more vulnerable to other infections. "You run the risk of predisposing someone to secondary infections," says Dr. Bryan McVerry, an associate professor of medicine at the University of Pittsburgh who recently published a study on corticosteroids in COVID-19 patients. "The data certainly do not support use of corticosteroids at that stage of illness. What we are hearing from reports is that the President seems to be a milder case, so I'm not sure I would necessarily use dexamethasone. But I'm not there, and it's hard to speculate about that."

Sean Conley, center, and other doctors treating President Trump at Walter Reed medical center on Oct. 5

SAUL LOEB—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

TRUMP IS RECEIVING AN 'UNPRECEDENTED' TREATMENT, EXPERTS SAY

On the other hand, Dr. Carlos del Rio, executive associate dean and professor of medicine at Emory University School of Medicine, says on the basis of reports from Trump's physician that the President's oxygen levels dipped twice in two days, Trump would qualify as a "moderately ill" patient and therefore be eligible to be treated with both remdesivir and dexamethasone. "You don't need to be on oxygen—you just need to reach that point," he says. "He kissed that goalpost, and once you hit that goalpost that's all you need to do. You don't wait for the patient to remain with low oxygen levels."

As these varying viewpoints reveal, the standard of care for COVID-19 is still evolving—after all, doctors have been treating the illness for only about nine months. That means how doctors decide if, and when, patients meet criteria for escalating treatments remains somewhat malleable, and the thresholds that make people eligible for unapproved treatments range widely.

WHETHER TRUMP HAD "mild" or "moderate" COVID-19 may be a matter of semantics. But that belies bigger concerns about the Administration's obfuscation of the health of the leader of the free world. In a press conference on Oct. 4, Conley also intimated that the President's lung images were "typical" of what doctors would expect in a COVID-19 patient. However, he did not answer questions about what the images showed, specifically whether there was evidence of pneumonia, which would suggest more respiratory involvement of his infection. And there's still no clarity from either Trump's doctors or his White House staff on the timeline of when the President last tested negative before falling ill with COVID-19.

If Trump had been battling COVID-19 for longer than the several days that his doctors say, then his treatment course fits more closely with that of most virus patients today. But if we take Trump's doctor at his word—that, as of this writing, he has been infected for only a few days—then his treatment strategy would seem more aggressive and preemptive than the typical regimen, and considerably riskier than the care that most Americans would get. ◻

United States Postal Service

Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation

(All Periodicals Publications Except Requester Publications)

1. Publication Title: TIME
2. Publication Number: 8658
3. Filing Date: Oct. 1, 2020
4. Issue Frequency: Weekly except for one week in February, April, May and November; two weeks in January, March, June, July, August, October and December; and three weeks in September.
5. Number of Issues Published Annually: 33
6. Annual Subscription Price: $49
7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication: 3 Bryant Park, New York, NY 10036
8. Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher: 3 Bryant Park, New York, NY 10036
9. Full Name and Complete Mailing Address of the Publisher, Editor and Managing Editor: Publisher: Viktoria Degtar, 3 Bryant Park, New York, NY 10036; Editor: Edward Felsenthal, 3 Bryant Park, New York, NY 10036; Managing Editor: Ratu Kamlani, 3 Bryant Park, New York, NY 10036.
10. Owner: TIME, LLC, 3 Bryant Park, New York, NY 10036
11. Known Bondholders, Mortgages, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 percent or more of Total amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities: None.
12. Tax Status (for completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates). Check one: The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes: __ Has Not Changed During Preceding 12 Months __ Has Changed During Preceding 12 Months (Publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement) Not applicable.
13. Publication Title: TIME
14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below: Sept. 21, 2020
15. Extent and Nature of Circulation Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months:
    a. Total Number of Copies (Net Press Run): 1,824,856
    b. Paid Circulation (By Mail and Outside the Mail):
    (1) Mailed Outside-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541 (Include paid distribution above nominal rate, advertiser's proof copies, and exchange copies): 987,711
    (2) Mailed In-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541 (Include paid distribution above nominal rate, advertiser's proof copies, and exchange copies): 0
    (3) Paid Distribution Outside the Mails Including Sales through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, Counter Sales, and Other Paid Distribution Outside USPS: 22,866
    (4) Paid Distribution by Other Classes of Mail Through the USPS (e.g., First-Class Mail®): 0
    c. Total Paid Distribution (Sum of 15b (1), (2), (3), and (4)): 1,010,577
    d. Free or Nominal Rate Distribution (by Mail and Outside the Mail):
    (1) Free or Nominal Rate Outside-County Copies included on PS Form 3541: 656,421
    (2) Free or Nominal Rate In-County Copies included on PS Form 3541: 0
    (3) Free or Nominal Rate Copies Mailed at Other Classes Through the USPS (e.g., First-Class Mail): 0
    (4) Free or Nominal Rate Distribution Outside the Mail (Carriers or other means): 5,468
    e. Total Free or Nominal Rate Distribution (Sum of 15d (1), (2), (3), and (4)): 661,889
    f. Total Distribution (Sum of 15c and 15e): 1,672,466
    g. Copies not Distributed (See Instructions to Publishers #4 (page #3)): 152,390
    h. Total (Sum of 15f and g): 1,824,856
    i. Percent Paid (15c divided by 15f times 100): 60.4%

No. of Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date:
    a Total Number of Copies (Net Press Run): 1,702,060
    b. Paid Circulation (By Mail and Outside the Mail):
    (1) Mailed Outside-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541 (Include paid distribution above nominal rate, advertiser's proof copies, and exchange copies): 898,220
    (2) Mailed In-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541 (Include paid distribution above nominal rate, advertiser's proof copies, and exchange copies): 0
    (3) Paid Distribution Outside the Mails Including Sales through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, Counter Sales, and Other Paid Distribution Outside USPS: 26,500
    (4) Paid Distribution by Other Classes of Mail Through the USPS (e.g., First-Class Mail®): 0
    c. Total Paid Distribution (Sum of 15b (1), (2), (3), and (4)): 924,720
    d. Free or Nominal Rate Distribution (by Mail and Outside the Mail):
    (1) Free or Nominal Rate Outside-County Copies included on PS Form 3541: 596,947
    (2) Free or Nominal Rate In-County Copies included on PS Form 3541: 0
    (3) Free or Nominal Rate Copies Mailed at Other Classes Through the USPS (e.g., First-Class Mail): 0
    (4) Free or Nominal Rate Distribution Outside the Mail (Carriers or other means): 3,553
    e. Total Free or Nominal Rate Distribution (Sum of 15d (1), (2), (3), and (4)): 600,500
    f. Total Distribution (Sum of 15c and 15e): 1,525,220
    g. Copies not Distributed (See Instructions to Publishers #4 (page #3)): 176,840
    h. Total (Sum of 15f and g): 1,702,060
    i. Percent Paid (15c divided by 15f times 100): 60.6%
16. Not applicable

17. Publication of Statement of Ownership: If the publication is a general publication, publication of this statement is required. Will be printed in the October 19, 2020 issue of this publication.
18. Signature and title of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner: Christopher Gaydos, Chief Financial Officer Time LLC. Date: Oct. 01, 2020.

I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including civil penalties).

The virus took my mother's life. Don't let anyone tell you it's not something to fear

By Arpita Aneja

The writer, right, and her mother in March 2019

I WOKE UP ON OCT. 2, MY MOTHER'S FIRST BIRTHDAY since she died of COVID-19 in May, to the news that the President of the United States had tested positive. Unbelievable. And yet totally believable.

The man who made fun of his opponent for wearing masks, who downplayed the risks of the virus to the American public, who said it would just go away "like a miracle," now had contracted the virus himself. And the whole world found out on my mom's birthday.

I knew, as my mother's birthday weekend approached, that it would be painful. I could not have predicted how much anger would mix with my sadness. But with each new revelation, I became increasingly furious.

The President, it now seems, not only did not follow protocol when he knew he had been exposed to the virus but also continued to interact with others when he was already exhibiting symptoms. When news came out that he was receiving a combination of experimental medications, including remdesivir, early on with only reportedly mild symptoms, I thought about my mother waiting in the ICU for the drug. Remdesivir got its emergency approval the same week she was diagnosed with COVID-19, but because the government botched distribution, it would be two weeks before she got her first dose. She died two days later.

When former New Jersey governor Chris Christie, one of a growing number of people in Trump's orbit who tested positive, checked himself into the hospital "out of an abundance of caution," I thought of all the people who were turned away because of overcapacity and didn't get the care they needed.

As the nation stood by for news of the President's condition, I thought about calling the nurses' station every day, then waiting for the doctors to call us back with updates because, of course, we couldn't be there.

When the President, still being treated for a highly infectious illness, left the hospital for what was essentially a parade, putting the lives of his Secret Service agents at risk, I thought about how after my mom went to the hospital, I never saw her again, how I told her I loved her on FaceTime, crying and clutching my phone because I couldn't hold her hand.

Tens of thousands of Americans have stories like this—relatives unable to be admitted to hospitals, medical providers who didn't have the right drugs on hand, goodbyes said from a distance. I know that even with the best level of care (and she still got a better level of care than many people have access to in this country), my 64-year-old immunocompromised mother still could have died. I also recognize that the President is going to get a different level of attention than any other citizen. And yet understanding how the world works doesn't make it less hurtful.

PERHAPS IF THE U.S. had worked to protect its citizens the way that countries with far fewer resources have, I wouldn't feel this way. But Trump and too many other politicians across the nation exhibited a disregard for the lives of their fellow Americans, flouting and even mocking public-health guidance. They pushed to open the economy even though it meant more people would get sick and die. They cheered on antilockdown protesters. They opposed mask mandates. Then when they got sick themselves, they got treatment that's out of reach for so many.

Before Trump left Walter Reed medical center, he tweeted that he felt better than he had 20 years ago; he urged his followers not to be afraid of COVID-19. "Don't let it dominate your life," he wrote.

It was yet another jab to the heart. Nothing will bring back my mom or the more than 210,000 other people in the U.S. who have died of COVID-19, but to those of us who have lost someone to this horrible virus, the tweet betrayed not just indifference but also a willingness to let the death toll grow.

Aneja is a video producer at TIME

COURTESY ARPITA ANEJA

TIME 100

RECOGNIZING THE WORLD'S
MOST INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE

THANK YOU

TO OUR SPONSORS

EXCLUSIVE
PREMIER SPONSOR

citi

BROADCAST
PARTNER

P&G

SIGNATURE
SPONSOR

VENZA

SIGNATURE
SPONSOR

SMIRNOFF

PLEASE DRINK RESPONSIBLY

SUPPORTING
SPONSOR

AT&T

Flames from the LNU Lightning Complex jump Interstate 80 in Vacaville, Calif., on Aug. 19

PHOTOGRAPH BY NOAH BERGER

HOW TO BUILD A SAFER WORLD

Fires, pandemic, drought. We need to rethink how we live

BY FAREED ZAKARIA

IMAGINE MASSACHUSETTS ON FIRE, LITERALLY THE entire state engulfed in flames. That is how much land has already been ravaged—over 5 million acres—in the wildfires of California, Washington and Oregon. With temperatures over 100°F, toxic air blanketed tens of millions of people for weeks, power outages afflicted vast regions, and dozens died from the blazes. Air quality in West Coast cities has ranked among the world's worst, with Portland's air at points being almost three times more unhealthy than that in notoriously polluted cities like New Delhi. The scenes of red skies out of America's West had an unreal quality, as if they came from a different planet. In a sense they do—being portents of the future.

There are many proximate reasons for these forest fires—fireworks, campfires, a stray spark—but there is one large cause that is blindingly clear: human actions that have led to climate change. To put it simply, the world is getting hotter, and that means forests get drier. And we can be sure of one thing: it's going to get worse. Temperatures continue to rise, drought conditions are worsening, and the combined effect of all these forces will multiply to create cascading crises in the years to come.

Cascades, in which a few loose pebbles unleash an avalanche, are happening all around us. COVID-19 began with a viral speck that was likely lodged in a bat somewhere in China and is now a raging global pandemic. While viruses have been around forever, they mostly originate in animals and, when they jumped to humans, remained largely local. But over the past few decades, many viruses have gone global, causing widespread epidemics—SARS, MERS, Ebola, Zika and now this novel coronavirus. In a recent essay in the scientific

journal *Cell*, the country's top infectious-disease expert, Anthony Fauci, and his colleague David Morens warn that we "have reached a tipping point that forecasts the inevitability of an acceleration of disease emergences." In other words, get ready for more pandemics. The fundamental reason behind this acceleration, they argue, is human action—the ever increasing scope and pace of development.

We have created a world in overdrive. People are living longer, producing and consuming more, inhabiting larger spaces, consuming more energy, and generating more waste and greenhouse-gas emissions. The pace has accelerated dramatically in the past few decades. Just one example: a 2019 U.N. report, compiled by 145 experts from 50 countries, concluded that "nature is declining globally at rates unprecedented in human history." It noted that 75% of all land has been "severely altered" by human actions, as has 66% of the world's marine environments. Ecosystems are collapsing, and biodiversity is disappearing.

The pandemic can be thought of as nature's revenge. The way we live now is practically an invitation for animal viruses to infect humans. Some scientists believe that as humans extend civilization into nature—building roads, clearing land, constructing factories, excavating mines—we are increasing the odds that animals will pass diseases to us. "We are doing things every day that make pandemics more likely," said Peter Daszak, an eminent disease ecologist. "We need to understand, this is not just nature. It is what we are doing to nature."

As economic development moves faster and reaches more people, we are taking ever greater risks, often without even realizing it. Think about meat consumption. As people get richer, they eat more meat. When this happens globally, the effect is staggering: about 80 billion animals are slaughtered for meat every year around the world. Animal products provide only 18% of calories worldwide yet take up 80% of the earth's farmland. Most livestock—an estimated 99% in America, 74% around the world—comes from factory farms. These massive operations serve as petri dishes for powerful viruses. "Selection for specific genes in farmed animals (for desirable traits like large chicken breasts) has made these animals almost genetically identical," Sigal Samuel wrote for Vox. "That means that a virus can easily spread from animal to animal without encountering any genetic variants that might stop it in its tracks."

We are tempting fate every day. We are now watching the effects of climate change on almost every part of the natural environment. It is bringing a warmer climate to more of the world, thus creating more hospitable conditions for disease. It is also turning more land into desert—23 hectares (57 acres) every minute, by the U.N.'s estimate. In 2010, Luc Gnacadja, who headed the organization's effort to combat desertification, called it "the greatest environmental challenge of our time," warning that "the top 20 centimeters of soil is all that stands between us and extinction." Thirty-eight percent of the earth's surface is at risk of desertification. Some of it is caused less by global climate change than by something more easily preventable: the overextraction of water from the ground.

You may say that this is not new. Human beings have been altering natural processes ever since they learned how to make fire. But the changes have intensified, particularly in the past few decades. The number of people on the planet has risen fivefold since 1900, while the average life span has doubled. The increase in life span goes "beyond the scope of what had ever been shaped by natural selection," explained Joshua Lederberg, the biologist who won the Nobel Prize at age 33 for his work on bacterial genetics. In a brilliant, haunting speech in 1989 at a virology conference in Washington, D.C., Lederberg called human beings' continued economic and scientific advancement "the greatest threat to every other plant and animal species, as we crowd them out in our own quest for lebensraum."

"A few vermin aside," he added, "*Homo sapiens* has undisputed dominion." But he pointed out that we do have one real competitor—the virus—and in the end, it could win.

75% OF ALL LAND HAS BEEN 'SEVERELY ALTERED' BY HUMAN ACTIONS, AS HAS 66% OF THE WORLD'S MARINE ENVIRONMENTS

THIS IS A GLOOMY COMPENDIUM of threats. And given the unstable nature of our international system, it may seem that our world is terribly fragile. It is not. Another way to read human history is to recognize just how tough we are. We have gone through extraordinary change at breathtaking pace. We have seen ice ages and plagues, world wars and revolutions, and yet we have survived and flourished.

But we have to recognize the ever greater risks we are taking and act to mitigate them. Modern human development has occurred on a scale and at a speed with no precedent. The global system that we are living in is open and dynamic, which means it has few buffers. That produces great benefits but also vulnerabilities. We have to adjust to the reality of ever increasing instability—now.

We are not doomed. The point of sounding the alarm is to call people to action. The question is, What kind of action? There are those, on the right and the left, who want to stop other countries from growing economically and shut down our open world. But should we tell the poorest billion in the world that they cannot escape poverty? Should we close ourselves off from the outside world and seek stability in national fortresses? Even if we wanted to do any of this, we would not be able to arrest these powerful forces. We could not persuade billions of people to stop trying to raise their standards of living. We could not prevent human beings from connecting with one another. What we can do is be far more conscious of the risks we face, prepare for the dangers and equip our societies to be resilient. They should be able not only to withstand shocks and backlashes, but also to learn from them. Nassim Nicholas Taleb suggests that we create systems that are "antifragile," which actually gain strength through chaos and crises.

A resident surveys the damage after Hurricane Laura made landfall in Lake Charles, La., on Aug. 28

PREVIOUS PAGES: AP; THIS PAGE: BRYAN TARNOWSKI—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES

We know what to do. "Outbreaks are inevitable, but pandemics are optional," says Larry Brilliant, the American physician who helped eradicate smallpox 45 years ago. What he means is that we may not be able to change the natural occurrences that produce disease in the first place, but through preparation, early action and intelligent responses, we can quickly flatten its trajectory. In fact, the eradication of smallpox is a story that is only partly about science and mostly about extraordinary cooperation between rival superpowers and impressive execution across the globe.

Similarly, climate change is happening, and we cannot stop it completely. But we can mitigate the scale of change and avert its most harmful effects through aggressive and intelligent policies. It will not be cheap. To address it seriously we would need to start by enacting a carbon tax, which would send the market the right price signal and raise the revenue needed to fund new technologies and simultaneously adapt to the already altered planet. As for economic development, there are hundreds of ways we could approach the process differently, retaining traditional ingredients like growth, openness and innovation while putting new emphasis on others like security, resilience and antifragility.

We can make different trade-offs, forgo some efficiencies and dynamism in some areas, and spend more money to make our societies prepared. The costs of prevention and preparation are minuscule compared with the economic losses caused by an ineffective response to a crisis. More fundamentally, building in resilience creates stability of the most important kind: emotional stability. Human beings will not embrace openness and change for long if they constantly fear that they will be wiped out in the next calamity.

And what about preventing the next pandemic? Again, we need to balance dynamism with safety. Much attention has focused on wet markets where live animals are slaughtered and sold, but these cannot simply be shut down, because they provide fresh food for many people. These markets should be better regulated, but they pose limited risks when they do not sell wild animals like bats, civets and pangolins. It is that exotic trade that must be outlawed. Similarly, getting the world to stop eating meat may be impossible, but promoting healthier diets—with less meat—would be good for humans and the planet. And factory farming can be re-engineered to be much safer, and far less cruel to animals. Most urgently, countries need strong public-health systems, and those systems need to communicate, learn from and cooperate with one another. You cannot defeat a global disease with local responses.

So California can't stop climate change or wildfires alone. But it can learn from its policy mistakes, using controlled burns to clear out underbrush and practicing sustainable construction. Without new action, single-family homes will keep sprawling outward into the forest, expanding the human footprint and making future destructive fires inevitable. Governments should encourage housing in safe and more sustainable areas. We have to recognize that the ways we are living, eating and consuming energy are all having an impact on the planet—and increasingly it is reacting.

This essay is adapted from Ten Lessons for a Post-Pandemic World *by Fareed Zakaria, W.W. Norton, October 2020*

TIME FOR LEARNING + zoom

Race *in the* Workplace

A multi-part series that will focus on practical approaches to improving and advancing racial equity, diversity, and inclusion in your organization. With Shaun Harper, Racial Equity Expert and Damien Hooper-Campbell, Zoom's Chief Diversity Officer.

SESSION 1

Understanding your Employees' Experiences with Racism

SESSION 2

How to Talk About Racism at Work

SESSION 3

Recruiting and Hiring Professionals of Color

Six more episodes coming weekly starting September 24th

Watch Now

TIME.COM/RACEINTHEWORKPLACE

This is paid content on behalf of our sponsor. TIME editorial staff was not involved in its creation or productions.

NEXT GENERATION LEADERS

Ten trailblazers who are forging new paths, crossing boundaries and creating change

MUNROE BERGDORF >

MOHAMED DHAOUAFI

EMMA CAMP

KIM CLAVEL

BAS TIMMER

BURNA BOY

OFELIA FERNÁNDEZ

HALSEY

MANASI JOSHI

ZIWE FUMUDOH

PHOTOGRAPH BY
RONAN MCKENZIE
FOR TIME

UNITED KINGDOM

MUNROE BERGDORF

Champion for trans visibility

BY AMROU AL-KADHI

MUNROE BERGDORF MEETS ME IN THE FOYER OF her apartment building in London, her mini Yorkshire terrier yanking her toward me as a Chinese Crested named Nelson cowers behind her legs. I'm there with my overexcitable Maltipoo puppy, who assumes everyone wants to kiss him. Nelson's having none of it. "Nelson's the same as me," Bergdorf says. "He's quite scared of others—he really keeps his guard up."

It's a surprising remark from a public figure so open with the most personal aspects of her life. Bergdorf, a Black transgender activist and model, comes across online as eminently self-assured—whether she's calling out racism and transphobia on social media or writing articles about inclusion for Black and brown gender-nonconforming people in the beauty industry. She summarizes her campaign to counter the transphobia that threatens her very existence as a two-pronged strategy of "empathy and education." But, as she tells me on a socially distanced dog walk in early September, this work has come at a price. "I've seen a side to the world most people never would, and I can't unsee it," she says.

For a gender-nonconforming person of color like me, Bergdorf, 33, has always been something of an icon. We last saw each other five years ago, when she performed a DJ set for my drag night in East London. She catapulted onto an even bigger stage in 2017, after she was hired as the first transgender model to star in a campaign for L'Oréal. But hope that the beauty industry was finally heeding calls to diversify evaporated when she was fired within a week, after the brand deemed a strongly worded condemnation of white supremacy she posted to social media—following the murder of a counterprotester at a Charlottesville, Va., Unite the Right rally—inconsistent with its "values." Fast-forward to this summer, and she was again at odds with the beauty brand after pointing to the hypocrisy of its display of racial solidarity in the wake of the killing of George Floyd. Following a public apology from L'Oréal, she joined its U.K. Diversity and Inclusion Advisory Board. It's a reconciliation befitting her belief that people—and, yes, brands—should have the opportunity to change. "I have faith that everybody can grow," she says.

Bergdorf is using her blossoming platform—more than half a million Instagram followers, articles for *Dazed* and *British Vogue,* TV appearances—to educate her country and the world about racism, transphobia and their intersection, speaking in forceful and accessible terms even on platforms where she has faced hostility. And she's doing all this against the backdrop of institutionalized transphobia in Britain. Although transgender people reportedly make up less than 1% of the population, national newspapers regularly publish op-eds arguing that they pose an existential threat to cisgender people. British author J.K. Rowling recently made international headlines after tweets, a blog post and the plot of her latest novel all propagated dangerous mistruths about transgender people. Meanwhile, in the U.S., the National Center for Transgender Equality reports that more trans people may have been murdered in the first seven months of 2020 than in all of 2019. The majority of the victims were Black and Latina trans women.

For many, though, it's a hopeful moment too, one in which 15,000 supporters rallied on the streets of Brooklyn in a March for Black Trans Lives in June, with thousands more marching later that month in London. Bergdorf has long been outspoken—but now her fire is met by a moment that may just be ready for the change she's demanding. "I want to keep fighting for a world that values Black trans people like everybody else, not as something controversial," she says.

Bergdorf joins thousands of women taking part in the Global Women's March in London in January 2019

BERGDORF'S COMMITMENT to making the world a safer place for Black trans people is rooted in her own experiences. Growing up in a small town in Essex outside London, she stood out. "I felt quite isolated," she says, coming of age in an area she describes as "extremely white, conservative." Those attitudes had been codified into law during Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's rule; an amendment called Section 28, which wasn't fully overturned until 2003, prohibited local authorities from teaching about homosexuality as acceptable—by extension instigating a moral panic about anyone who did not conform to the straight, cisgender norm. "I couldn't talk about the fact that I was being bullied

and locked in cupboards," Bergdorf says. The work she does now makes her the role model she wished she had as a young person. "It means that if someone else is going through that, they can look at me and see someone that's come through it."

She began her career in fashion PR and, after gaining the attention of fashion photographers at London nightclubs, moved into modeling in 2011. For many queer people, clubs can be a kind of expressive sanctuary, and they were for Bergdorf. In 2015, she helped found the joyous London club night for LGBTQI people of color, Pxssy Palace. A campaign for the Japanese clothing brand Uniqlo that same year marked a turning point in the blending of her modeling and activism: "To see a Black queer trans woman on a billboard, I mean, I had never seen that in my life," she recalls of seeing herself in the ads. They also afforded her the chance to describe, for the first time on a public stage, the experience of living in her body, after years of feeling as if she was getting opportunities only so a company could tick a box.

Not long after, however, the incident that would amplify her voice and reaffirm her commitment to activism would also bring trauma and scrutiny. After a white supremacist killed Heather Heyer when he drove his car into a Charlottesville crowd in August 2017, Bergdorf channeled her pain into a Facebook post. "Come see me when you realize that racism isn't learned, it's inherited and … passed down through privilege," she wrote. "Once white people

SOPA IMAGES LIMITED/ALAMY

begin to admit that their race is the most violent and oppressive force of nature on Earth … then we can talk."

Within days, L'Oréal dropped her, and she faced an onslaught of criticism from the notoriously hostile British press. "It was the worst time of my life," she says. "Every time I turned on my phone, I got death threats, rape threats." Despite the backlash, Bergdorf wasn't saying anything new. Like many before her, she was pointing out that white people benefit from systemic racism by virtue of living in a society that privileges whiteness. So why the controversy? Tears spring to her eyes as she relives the ordeal: "People just thought, How dare she? A Black trans woman … how dare she?" She closes her eyes, steadying herself. "Lorde basically said the exact same thing after Charlottesville." Was she, too, dragged through the mud? Bergdorf doesn't blink. "Of course not."

But Bergdorf did not retreat from speaking her truth. "Activism is psychology!" she says, putting down her coffee with a flourish at the canine-friendly pub we've settled into. "It's about changing mindsets. That's what I'm trying to do." The mission can be exhausting. "I work seven days a week. There are no breaks," she says. As the tattoo on her arm declares, Bergdorf says she will stop at nothing to "protect trans youth," and she is a proud patron of Mermaids, a U.K. charity that supports transgender and gender-variant young people and their families. In 2019, she was also named an advocate for U.N. Women U.K., fighting to stop systemic violence against all women and girls, including a campaign to end female genital mutilation by 2030.

But even as hearts and minds change—and they are changing—policies don't always keep up. Take, for instance, ongoing efforts in the U.K. to make it easier for transgender people to legally change their gender. Despite the fact that a majority of consulted citizens said they supported the reforms, Prime Minister Boris Johnson's Conservative Party has reneged on its promises to implement the public's recommendations.

The setbacks are not just relentless—they are personal. But two kinds of feedback keep Bergdorf going: "When I get messages from young people, telling me that seeing my work has helped them come out and accept who they are, or when people say I have genuinely changed their minds—that makes it all worth it."

This faith that people can change their minds explains Bergdorf's nuanced position on cancel culture—the practice of demanding, often on social media, that a person or a brand lose their cultural currency or platform following a controversial statement or action—even when it comes to her former employer. In the wake of Black Lives Matter protests this summer, L'Oréal—like many corporations—was quick to herald its "commitment" to racial equality, adapting its famous slogan to "Speaking out is worth it." Bergdorf wasted no time calling out what she saw as hypocrisy. "I had to fend for myself being torn apart by the world's press because YOU didn't want to talk about racism," she wrote on Instagram. "Where was my support when I spoke out? Where was my apology?"

AFTER SPEAKING WITH BERGDORF, the global brand president of L'Oréal Paris, Delphine Viguier-Hovasse, who took over the company last year, apologized for how L'Oréal handled the episode, saying, "We support Munroe's fight against systemic racism and as a company we are committed to work to dismantle such systems." They invited her to help advise the brand on diversity and, with her guidance, donated to U.K. Black Pride and Mermaids. "We all get things wrong," Bergdorf explains. "But people are human, and I like to recognize that." She adds that saying no to L'Oréal's invitation would have made her a "hypocrite." "My whole thing is holding people accountable but also having a conversation, not just shaming people into submission."

Bergdorf's upcoming book is all about embracing change. Following a heated 11-way bidding war, Bloomsbury acquired *Transitional* for a six-figure deal. Set for release next year, the "manifesto" draws on personal experience and expert theory to explore how the notion of transitioning is a constant. In it, Bergdorf asserts that people are always transitioning, whether ideologically, spiritually, in our relationships or in our identities. "What was once controversial is now readily accepted," Bergdorf says, referring to her comments from a few years ago. "It just fills me with so much joy now to see that we are all talking about what I was talking about three years ago."

I remark that it must be hard, your own existence being labeled controversial. She takes a sip of her coffee and composes herself. "I've been exhausted for the past three years. I've been completely demonized, but all I'm trying to do is change the narrative so that the world is kinder to marginalized people."

This version of Bergdorf, her guard down and the filtered lens of Instagram cast aside, offers a glimpse into the human cost of being a Black trans activist in the unrelenting public sphere. I'm filled with enormous gratitude—not only as someone who has suffered the pain of marginalization myself, but as a human being, thankful that she puts herself on the firing line to make the world more tolerant for us all. She smiles, betraying at least a hint of triumph. "Trans people offer the world so much," she says. "We show people what it is to be free." —*With reporting by* MADELINE ROACHE/LONDON

Al-Kadhi is a drag performer, screenwriter and author

DHAOUADI: ZIED BEN ROMDHANE—MAGNUM PHOTOS FOR TIME; CAMP: FRANCK GAZZOLA—COURTESY OF ROLEX

TUNISIA

MOHAMED DHAOUAFI

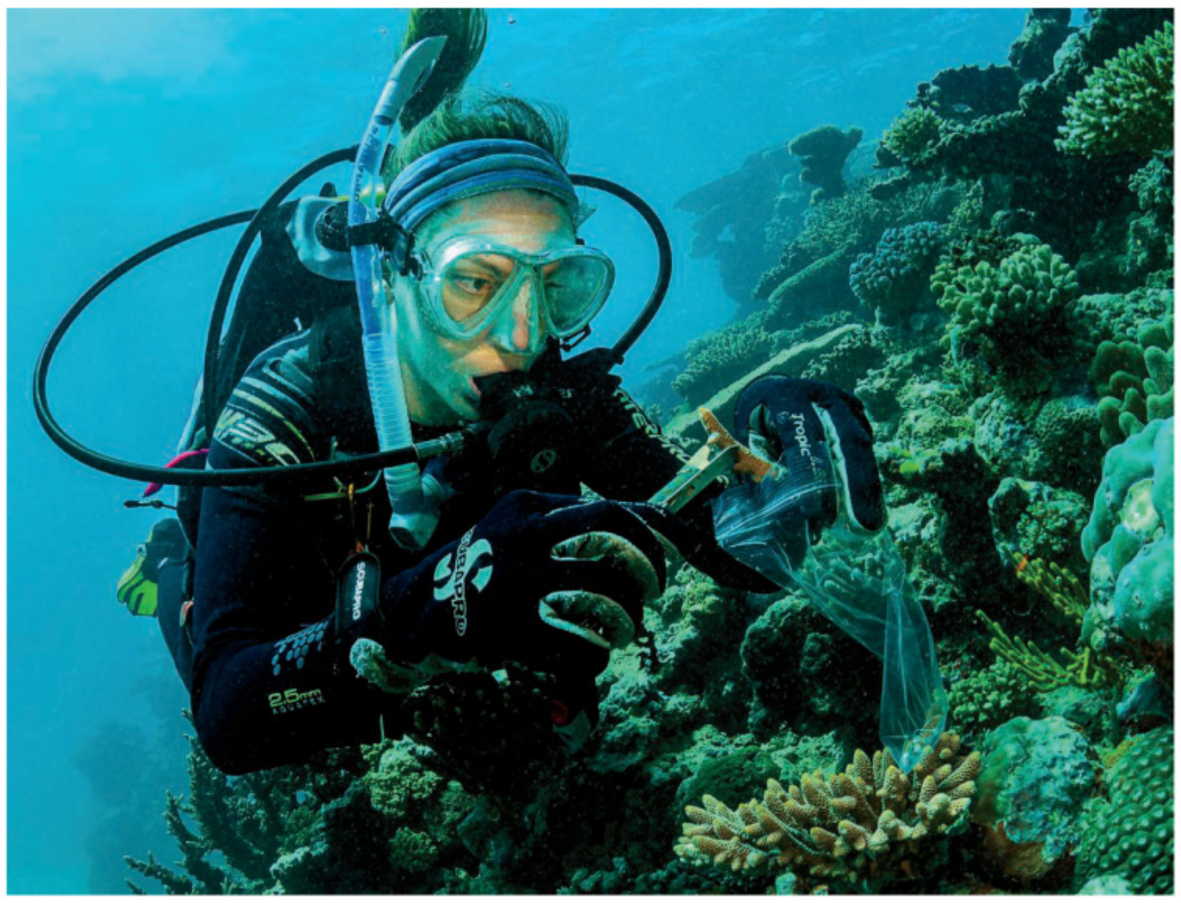
Making prostheses affordable

—

BY JOSEPH HINCKS

Mohamed Dhaouafi was training to be an engineer in Tunisia when a story about a fellow student's 12-year-old cousin put him on a path toward prosthetics. The girl had been born without arms, but her parents couldn't afford to buy her artificial replacements. Of some 30 million to 40 million amputees in developing countries around the world, Dhaouafi learned, only 5% have access to prostheses. "For someone who's lost a hand, it's just miserable," he says. After he graduated from college, making prosthetic limbs that were both affordable and user-friendly "became my passion, my purpose," he says.

Cure Bionics, the startup Dhaouafi established in November 2018, is now about to launch its 3-D-printed, in-house-engineered prostheses in Tunisia, with distribution in broader Africa and the Middle East to follow. Cure Bionics' hands will cost around $2,500—about one-fourth the market average, Dhaouafi says—have solar panels and use AI to adapt as a patient's body grows or changes. The startup is also developing VR games in parallel to help children master the use of their new prostheses. Dhaouafi says he wants Tunisians to be inspired by people with limb differences, rather than pity them. Prostheses should not be "an ugly metal thing they try to hide," he says, but tools for "positive differentiation."



AUSTRALIA

Emma Camp

Fighting to save the coral reefs

—

BY ALEJANDRO DE LA GARZA

AMID A GLOBAL PANDEMIC, ANOTHER DISASTER WAS unfolding early this year beneath the ocean waters off the coast of Australia. Thanks to climate change, surface water temperatures across the Great Barrier Reef had hit record highs. By April, the damage was clear: the reef had endured the most widespread bleaching event ever recorded, as corals expelled the symbiotic algae that serve as their food source and give them their color.

With a quarter of all ocean fish depending on reefs during their life cycles, scientists say we urgently need to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions to preserve the essential habitats. "Unfortunately we aren't acting quick enough on climate change, and that leaves a real problem for coral reefs," says Emma Camp, 33, a marine biogeochemist at the University of Technology Sydney. She's investigating special corals that survive in mangrove forest lagoons where water is warmer and more acidic compared with that surrounding most reefs, and which may be resistant to the conditions devastating the Great Barrier Reef.

Camp wants to learn if these creatures—named "super-corals" after she and a team discovered them during research for her Ph.D. in 2014—can be transplanted to other reefs to aid restoration. She's also investigating the biochemical properties that allow certain corals to survive in extreme environments. None of her efforts, she says, is a substitute for action to halt climate change. "My research is really about buying time."

For Camp, it's also essential to recruit a new generation of scientists to study the planet's ecological systems. She talks about science with students around the world and speaks at local and international women-in-science events. "If we lose 50% of the intellectual input or potential innovation because we're filtering out women from that career path, we're really going to struggle to solve those problems," she says.

CANADA

KIM CLAVEL

Trading boxing gloves for nurse scrubs

—

BY SEAN GREGORY

AS COVID-19 BEGAN TO RAVAGE NORTH AMERICA, Canadian boxer Kim Clavel's first main-event fight, scheduled for March 21 in Montreal, was canceled. Clavel had taken a leave from nursing to focus full-time on her fighting career. A huge opportunity had slipped away. She felt destroyed.

What next? She soon found out. Canada desperately needed nurses to care for elderly patients fighting COVID-19. On March 21, instead of entering the ring, she began work in a Montreal nursing home. "Same night," Clavel says. "Different fight."

An undefeated light-flyweight champion, Clavel, 30, worked 16-hour shifts at times during the peak of the pandemic, treating as many as 30 patients at once in Montreal. Many of them were suffering and confused about why they couldn't see their loved ones. She ended shifts in tears. "You have to hold their hands, you are with them in their last breaths," she says. "The only thing you can do is tell them everything will be all right."

Over three months, Clavel worked in 11 different hospitals and nursing homes. Conditions in some of the government-funded facilities, she says, were poor; they were understaffed. Some rooms lacked air-conditioning. "We have to take care of our elderly," Clavel says. In June, at the Excellence in Sports Performance Yearly Awards, better known as the ESPYs, she won the Pat Tillman Award for Service.

Clavel, who grew up in Joliette, a small city north of Montreal, started boxing when she was 15. After her first lesson, she told the coach she wanted to be a champion. "He laughed," says Clavel. "He looked at me and said, 'Little girl, calm down. You have to train first and we will see.'" Eight months later, she won a Quebec title.

"Boxing doesn't have limits," she says from a gym in Montreal, where she's training. "It makes me feel alive." She returned to the ring in July, when she defeated American Natalie Gonzalez in Las Vegas. Clavel is once again focused on boxing full-time; she hopes to fight again by the end of the year and continue to raise the profile of women's boxing.

But she plans to put her scrubs back on at some point. Clavel wants to earn an advanced degree, so she can write prescriptions and work even more closely with doctors. "To be a nurse, you change lives, you change the world," says Clavel. "Even if conditions are really hard, they never quit. Nurses are the army of health."

PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEXI HOBBS FOR TIME

THE NETHERLANDS

Bas Timmer

From streetwear to shelter

—

BY ARYN BAKER

REGRETS CAN SOMETIMES DERAIL A CAREER. FOR BAS Timmer, they were a turning point. A young Dutch fashion designer just out of school in 2014, Timmer stumbled upon a homeless man one cold night. He thought about giving the man one of his signature fashion hoodies, but—to his lasting shame—paused for fear of diminishing his brand. A few months later, a friend's father, also homeless, died of hypothermia. "I felt guilty," says Timmer. "I had the opportunity to help, and I did nothing."

To make up for it, he dedicated his brand to helping others. Timmer tried to imagine a garment suited to life on the streets: a waterproof, insulated, portable outfit that could be converted into a sleeping bag. He presented his mashup to a local homeless man, who loved it so much he wanted more for his friends. "And that's when the whole Sheltersuit idea started," Timmer says.

Six years later, Timmer, 30, is still handing out Sheltersuits. So far he has distributed 12,500 to homeless people in the U.K., the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and the U.S., and to refugees in Greece. The suits are made out of donated and upcycled materials, and manufacturing costs are covered by donations. To bring costs down further, Timmer has partnered with UNICEF to produce suits in South Africa for worldwide distribution, at around $30 apiece.

His goal is to open small factories all over the world, paying local people to sew the designs. Timmer is aware that his invention is no solution for homelessness, which he knows is not going to go away anytime soon, especially in the wake of economic devastation wreaked by the COVID-19 pandemic. Still, he says, it's better than doing nothing: "It is a Band-Aid, but it's a good Band-Aid. People want a house; they want a job. Until they have that, let's at least protect them while they are on the streets."

TONY DOCEKAL

NIGERIA

BURNA BOY

A voice for Africa

BY ANDREW R. CHOW

"THE REAL AFRICA HAS NOT BEEN SHOWN. FOR A long time, the world has only seen videos of little kids and their ribs, asking for donations," Burna Boy says with a bitter laugh. The Nigerian superstar sits in a London studio, sporting a crisp marbled button-down and immaculately coiffed dreadlocks while serenely holding a cup of Hennessy and Coke, presenting a very different image indeed.

No one person can represent an entire continent. But sometimes it seems as though Burna Boy is expected to. At the 2020 Grammys, the Beninese legend Angélique Kidjo dedicated her trophy for Best World Music to her fellow nominee, saying he was "changing the way our continent is perceived." And Burna Boy, born Damini Ogulu, isn't shying away from the responsibility. Since his career took off in 2012, he has released a string of hits that have earned him hundreds of millions of streams and a growing list of admirers, from Kidjo to Beyoncé to Barack Obama. Last year, he sold out London's Wembley SSE Arena.

Following January's Grammys, the 29-year-old began writing songs for *Twice as Tall*, his fifth studio album, released in August to critical acclaim. The work spearheads a conception of Africa far more expansive than the tired stereotypes of starving children and more complex than the utopian reveries of Beyoncé's *Black Is King* or Marvel's *Black Panther;* it teems with mercenaries and protectors, Nigerian Afrobeats and British grime, terror and grace. "If I don't live in or love my home," Burna Boy asks over Zoom, "then who will?"

BURNA BOY'S STORY sprawls beyond the geographical and cultural confines of his continent. He grew up in Port Harcourt, Nigeria, and went to university in the U.K. He listened to his idol, the Nigerian pioneer Fela Kuti (his grandfather was Kuti's manager), and American hip-hop acts like Naughty by Nature. By his early 20s, he was a robust freestyler and a genre-crossing songwriter, when songs like his jubilant "Like to Party" started garnering attention, first in Lagos and then the world.

Given his success, perhaps it's unsurprising that he carries himself with an unflappable confidence that some might perceive as hubris. Last year, he made headlines for chastising Coachella over his low billing on its lineup: "I am an AFRICAN GIANT and will not be reduced to whatever that tiny writing means," he wrote in an Instagram story.

"THE REAL AFRICA HAS NOT BEEN SHOWN."

That larger-than-life personality was on show when he turned up on set in London for a shoot for TIME—but quickly disappears when Burna Boy sits down to discuss his commitment to his homeland.

When the pandemic hit, Burna Boy was deep in the creation of *Twice as Tall,* and decided to stay in Lagos rather than decamp to London or L.A., making music and learning about his ancestry. He emphasizes this choice on "Wonderful," the lead single, singing, "Anywhere I go, I'm going back home, because my mama's home" in a pidgin of English and Yoruba. In the music video, dancers in traditional tribal garb circle Burna Boy as he sings in harmony reminiscent of Zulu choral music.

While Burna Boy celebrates Africa, he is also aware of his own country's many systemic failings. A recent report showed that 40% of Nigerians live below the poverty line; Burna Boy says that living in Lagos during the pandemic was a "reality check."

He is especially vocal about the plight of the Niger Delta region, which produces billions of dollars for oil companies and the government while people native to the region suffer from the environmental effects of drilling. At the start of his song "Monsters You Made" with Chris Martin, Burna Boy momentarily cedes the microphone to Ebikabowei "Boyloaf" Victor-Ben, a former commander of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta, who warns listeners that violence and corruption will only beget more of the same. Burna Boy performed the song at the 2020 Virtual March on Washington in August and has expressed solidarity with racial-justice protests around the world. But he has also pushed back on the U.S.-centric lens of the movement. "In order for Black lives to matter, Africa must matter," he said while accepting a BET Award in June.

Burna Boy speaks about his continent in broad strokes because he believes in a Pan-African future. "The only way for us to achieve anything of substance for our generation and generations to come is to unite," he says. His music, which he calls Afro-fusion, acts as a vivid precursor to this dream. On *Twice as Tall,* he mixes influences from across the diaspora, from dancehall to roots reggae to South African *kwaito* to trap to auto-tuned R&B. "It's about building a bridge between all of us, to make sure we're all accessible to each other and we all grow to love each other," he says.

While Burna Boy espouses radical rhetoric, he demurs when asked about any political ambitions. A foreboding precedent looms: Kuti ran for President in 1979, only to be harassed and jailed by authorities. "I'm just here to sing according to what my eyes have seen and what my spirit is telling me," he says. "But if the most high decides that I must [lead], then so be it."

BURNA BOY: NWAKA OKPARAEKE FOR TIME; FERNÁNDEZ: ANITA POUCHARD SERRA FOR TIME

ARGENTINA

OFELIA FERNÁNDEZ

Latin America's youngest lawmaker

—

BY CIARA NUGENT

In 2018, thousands of young women sat on the streets of Buenos Aires, watching on big screens as Argentina's Congress debated a bill to end tight restrictions on abortion. Many, including young activist Ofelia Fernández, were unimpressed. "We all thought, If this is the level of skill in these chambers, then no one can tell us we can't occupy those places ourselves," she recalls.

Two years on, Fernández, 20, is Latin America's youngest lawmaker, according to regional media. Elected in October 2019 to the city legislature in Buenos Aires, she's spent most of her first year working out of her mom's living room because of COVID-19, but has also been using her platform to push a progressive, youth-centric agenda in the city. "I didn't want to be responsible for changes not happening," she says of her decision to join the leftist Frente de Todos coalition.

Though the 2018 abortion bill was narrowly defeated in the Senate, Alberto Fernández, the Argentine President who took office in December, has given his support to a new bill to legalize elective abortion—a first for a head of state in the country. The pandemic has delayed the vote, and it will need to get more support than in 2018 to succeed, but the young Fernández says her generation is feeling confident as ever: "We already consider this right to be ours, and we just need to get it recognized on paper. I know we can do it."

UNITED STATES

HALSEY

A pop star with purpose

BY RAISA BRUNER

HALSEY WANTS TO TALK ABOUT HOW MUCH SHE loves her gynecologist. "She's the person I see more than anyone," she jokes. Speaking from home in a striped pajama top, the platinum-selling singer-songwriter, born Ashley Frangipane, is just as unfiltered over Zoom as she is on social media and in her music. It was her 26th birthday the day before we speak, and in the previous 24 hours she'd dropped a music video, for her single "929," and recorded a conversation with Senator Bernie Sanders on motivating young people to vote in the upcoming U.S. elections. But reproductive health is on her mind as well. "I'm like the Pap-smear fairy!" she says.

Once a housing-challenged teen, Halsey is now a megastar with a platform big enough to leverage in support of Planned Parenthood, as she's done for years. Fans have flocked to her for her willingness to share herself publicly in all her complexity: she is biracial and bisexual, and has bipolar disorder. Her songs and videos are built on rich narratives inspired by Shakespeare and Quentin Tarantino, with titles like "Bad at Love" and "You Should Be Sad"; her concerts were festivals of collective catharsis. Now unable to tour because of coronavirus restrictions, the singer has found that activism and advocacy are another way to feel purposeful. "You vote for humanity, or you don't," she says. "You vote for a racist or you don't."

BORN AND RAISED in New Jersey to a white mother and Black father, she and her family moved often. Her "otherness," as she puts it, was always apparent; she remembers someone calling the police on her dad when he came to pick her up at school. At 17, Halsey moved to New York on her own. (Her name is cribbed from the Brooklyn subway stop she lived by at one point.) "In good times, I was couch surfing—in bad times, I was barely getting by," she says. "If that meant staying awake for a couple days, or using resource centers to get things like razors, deodorant or clean water, that wasn't beneath me."

Three years later, she released her acclaimed debut, *Badlands,* kicking off a half-decade stretch of success, including hits "Closer" with the Chainsmokers and "Without Me," a slew of awards and streaming records, friendships with contemporaries like Taylor Swift and a house of her own in L.A. Still: "I know who my people are," she says, "and I work to distribute my wealth in areas where I can give back."

This summer's Black Lives Matter demonstrations inspired Halsey, like many other Americans, to participate. "I went to the first protest not knowing what to expect. I came home shot twice with rubber ammunition," she says. She went back with medical supplies, helping injured protesters with skills picked up from her EMT mom, but that proved equally traumatizing. Eventually she launched the Black Creators Funding Initiative to award $10,000 grants to Black artists. Knowing she has the privilege of passing as white, she felt conflicted about removing herself from the physical act of protest. It's a tension she's still navigating. "Because being mixed is a nuanced experience, the response is nuanced as well," she says.

But bringing fans into that sort of nuance is part of what's made her so successful. She named her latest album *Manic,* a nod to her mental health. During COVID-19, her relationship with her bipolar disorder changed again. "In my time at home, I started taking medication," she says, sharing this shift for the first time. For years, she says, she avoided medication, not wanting to dampen her creativity. But during lockdown, deprived of her nightly "cocktail" of dopamine and applause, she decided to try it. "It has changed my life," she now says.

On social media, she feels a responsibility to document these pieces of her life. She'll reference SSRIs in an offhand response explaining a vivid dream, post an unedited selfie or go off about her frustration at seeing people in line for nightclubs. She spends time lurking on fan group chats too. "Every couple months, I'm learning about a new orientation I've never heard of that makes a group of people feel valid," she says. "The best thing that I can do with my given platform is to adapt as the world adapts."

Being high-profile in the age of social media is tricky, especially if you insist on speaking up. "There is no such thing as a perfect activist," she says. But to a generation jaded by misinformation, her transparency in sharing even the sharpest edges of identity and growth feels like a safe space around which to connect. She doesn't take it for granted—and she's all right with doing it imperfectly. "I fall in between two chairs," she says, laughing, "which means sometimes, I end up on the floor."

PHOTOGRAPH BY DARIA KOBAYASHI RITCH FOR TIME

"THE BEST THING THAT I CAN DO WITH MY GIVEN PLATFORM IS TO ADAPT AS THE WORLD ADAPTS."

INDIA

Manasi Joshi

Finding strength in adversity

—

BY ABHISHYANT KIDANGOOR

MANASI JOSHI NEVER SET OUT TO BECOME AN INTERNATIONAL athlete. And she certainly didn't plan to become an advocate for the rights of millions of disabled people in her native India.

But in 2011, a road crash cost Joshi her left leg, pulling her from her path as a software engineer in Mumbai and launching her on a more meaningful journey as an athlete and activist. "Sports helped me break stereotypes," Joshi, 31, says. "I now want to use that experience to be an enabler for others."

After Joshi learned to walk again, she turned to her favorite childhood sport, badminton, hoping it would help her body regain its balance. It did much more than that: "It taught me to do my best with whatever I have."

Two years later, a friend pushed Joshi to try out for the national para-badminton team. What followed was a whirlwind of winning national and international medals. In August 2019, she claimed gold in Switzerland at the BWF Para-Badminton World Championship. When Joshi's achievement was initially overshadowed by the victory of a nondisabled Indian player, social-media users heaped praise on her. She returned home to India a celebrity. When a young amputee called her a role model, she realized she had a responsibility beyond sports.

Joshi's new popularity has helped amplify disability rights in India, where more than 26 million people live with some form of impairment. She is now working on qualifying for the 2020 Paralympic Games in Tokyo, and believes a strong showing there could help change perceptions about disability. But ultimately, she hopes her success in one of India's most popular sports will inspire people to find opportunity in adversity—just as she did. "Because when I did that," she says, "it helped me break barriers and set me free."

KANNAGI KHANNA FOR TIME

UNITED STATES

ZIWE FUMUDOH

The pandemic's most provocative comedy star

—

BY CADY LANG

THE QUESTIONS THAT ZIWE FUMUDOH SPENT the summer lobbing at guests on her Instagram Live show are the kind that usually go unasked: "How many Black friends do you have? Did your family own slaves? What does white privilege mean to you?"

But, while those topics may make some of her guests uncomfortable, they've also made her IG Live show, which launched this spring, one of the pandemic's most viral diversions. The weekly broadcast, inspired by *Baited*, the riotous YouTube series she created in 2017, consists of Fumudoh asking an eclectic mix of fellow comedians, friends and public figures unflinchingly honest and, at times, outrageous questions about race. "While it's ingrained in every fabric of our nation, it is something that we are explicitly told: do not talk about this; it makes everyone uncomfortable," says the 28-year-old comedian. "All I'm trying to do is have substantive conversations about race in a way that's funny and light and jovial."

Fumudoh—who grew up in Lawrence, Mass., as the daughter of Nigerian immigrants—says she's been preparing her whole life for these conversations, moving through predominantly white institutions, from Phillips Academy Andover to Northwestern University. She didn't seriously consider a career in comedy until she landed an internship at Comedy Central during college. Later, doing stand-up in a world dominated by white guys, Fumudoh found she captivated audiences most when she drew on her own experiences with race in America. She's now a writer for late-night show *Desus & Mero* and works on her IG Live show in her spare time.

Fumudoh hopes that her show offers not just laughs, but also a chance for growth—the kind that can only come from acknowledging where problems exist. And though her IG Live show is temporarily on hiatus as she focuses on writing her upcoming collection of essays, *The Book of Ziwe*, she hopes the conversations won't stop.

"I want my audience to take a good look at themselves and ask, 'How would I answer these questions? Am I uncomfortable with talking about race?'" Fumudoh says. "Everything about our world is about race. This should be the easiest conversation, and yet somehow it's the most difficult."

PHOTOGRAPH BY GIONCARLO VALENTINE FOR TIME

9 Questions

David Byrne The renaissance rock star on curiosity, percussionists on foot and the joy of connecting with others

A*merican Utopia* is an album, a show, an HBO film and a book. Some of the songs are new, but some are classics. Is utopia something that you've been thinking about your whole career? There seem to be various times in one's life where you can focus on certain things, and those become things that you're really interested in. And this seemed to be one of those moments; I could pull from a lot of my work in the past, but I could also look to the future and deal with more civic engagement. The country was kind of at one another's throats, so it seemed to be a moment when that seemed important to do.

You start the show talking about the brains of children. The book also has a childlike playfulness. Do you lean into childhood in your work? There's an element of playfulness and whimsy. And there's an element of curiosity. I don't want to assume an attitude where I'm too cool or that I know it all. I tend to come to things and go, "Well, what is that? And how does that work?"

You speculate in the show that the connections that we have in our brains as infants become connections to other people. Have the past few months made you feel differently about that? I do need a dose of kind of hope every once in a while. Because like so many of us, I wake up and I read a few newspapers in the morning, and then I'm furious.

More than half the cast of *American Utopia*—six people—are percussionists. Why so many? I'm a big fan of percussion groups and marching groups—whether it's samba schools or second line groups or drum lines. There's a really different feeling than a drummer on a kit. And there's a different feeling when it's multiple people doing it. You have this visceral sense of collective effort, that something is being achieved collectively that could not be done individually. There's a joy to it. It's important to the whole of what the show is.

"I CAN'T JUST WRITE A BUNCH OF SONGS, AS IF EVERYTHING IN THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS DIDN'T HAPPEN"

America seems to be struggling with balancing individual rights and the good of the team right now. How do you see it? In a show like this one, it's very much a collaboration. It's not me micromanaging every bit of it. I have tried doing that, and it doesn't work as well, you don't get as much, and it's not as much fun. So I'm very much of the feeling that yes, we have individual rights, but there are instances where if you curtail those a little bit and cooperate with other people, you get something that you could never get by yourself.

In this spirit of connection, have you reconnected with the other former members of Talking Heads? We communicate. We've managed to find common ground and deal with legal stuff and whatever that affects all of us. But we're not all palling around.

Does that pain you? I'm not sad about not working together; we all change, and we have other interests. But yeah, personally it is a little bit sad.

How has the pandemic been treating you? Did you find that a period of enforced isolation was good for your creativity? I have not written a single song since the pandemic. I'm working on a dance project with a choreographer, and we're trying to figure out if the audience gets to dance in a socially distant way. We did a test with a small audience, and boy do people love that.

Why haven't you written songs? This has been hard. I've been asking myself, How do you respond to this in a song? I can't ignore it; I can't just write a bunch of songs, as if everything in the last couple of years didn't happen. You have to acknowledge it, and I don't quite know how to do that yet, in a way that doesn't feel preachy. —BELINDA LUSCOMBE

KRIS CONNOR—THE BLUE JACKET FASHION SHOW/GETTY IMAGES

HOT

SIZZLING

AGAVE

WORTH

DRINK SMART® Hornitos® Tequila, 40% alc./vol.
©2020 Sauza Tequila Import Company, Chicago, IL
Visit www.hornitostequila.com for more information.